



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Burundi

Attorney General Killed on Outskirts of Bujumbura

AB2104210794 Paris AFP in English 1741 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Bujumbura, April 21 (AFP)—The attorney general of Burundi was shot and killed overnight Wednesday [20 April] on the outskirts of the capital, officials said Thursday.

Nathan-Audance Nibaruta was killed in Kamenge, an area where armed residents have engaged the army in gunbattles that continued Thursday.

It was not clear how he died. Some sources said he was caught in a crossfire, while other sources within the military said he had taken the side of the armed civilians and opened fire on soldiers.

The presidents of Burundi and Rwanda were killed in a plane crash on April 6. Rwanda exploded in ethnic bloodletting, but Burundi has remained largely calm despite having the same rivalry between the same two tribes.

The interim Burundian President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya met with civil and military authorities to discuss how to end the violence in Kamenge.

"All the rest of the country is calm," he said.

Foreign Minister on Violence, Next President

BR2104124294 Groot-Bijgaarden DE STANDAARD in Dutch 21 April 94 p 1

[Report by Rik De Gendt: "OAU Officers in Burundi Await Green Light From Brussels"]

[Excerpts] Brussels—At the request of the Burundian Government, 15 OAU officers are ready to begin an investigation into the continuing skirmishes in the northern Hutu quarters of the capital Bujumbura. They are being severely hindered from carrying out this assignment by their lack of necessary communications equipment and transportation. Meanwhile, 30 Belgian jeeps and radio equipment, which are intended for the OAU peace mission, are waiting, unused, in a hangar for a definitive "yes" from Brussels. [passage omitted]

At the cabinet of the Belgian Foreign Ministry, a spokesman for Willy Claes said that "the talks with the OAU concerning the specific use of the Belgian equipment had not yet been concluded, and that consequently Belgium could not yet release the vehicles in question." A final agreement would be reached "within a few days, or one week at the latest," he said.

"However, we still have high hopes for the OAU mission," Burundian Foreign Minister Jean-Marie Ngendahayo said, speaking yesterday with DE STANDAARD

over telephone. "Both the Army and the militant elements in the Hutu quarters are accusing each other of provocation. There is an urgent need for us to gain an objective picture of the situation."

In addition, Ngendahayo said that it was a "shame that some reports had exaggerated the previously sporadic disturbances in some parts of the capital at the very same time that such intensive, serious efforts are being made to put them behind us." During the weekend, the Burundian Government again took measures to strengthen the administration in the tribal areas and is seeking possible ways of gradually disarming the population.

The foreign minister was optimistic about the possibilities envisioned Monday by the Constitutional Court regarding the succession of country's defunct President Cyprien Ntaryamira. He said that "relations with the former part of unity, UPRONA [Unity for National Progress], are so good that a solution to the menacing constitutional impasse is very close to being reached."

Congo

Leading Labor Union Signs Agreement With Government

AB2104190894 Paris AFP in French 1326 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Brazzaville, 20 Apr (AFP)—Authorized sources in Brazzaville today revealed that the Confederation of Congolese Labor Unions [CSTC], which boycotted negotiations between the government and the unions in March, finally reached an agreement with the authorities on 19 April.

The CSTC, one of the country's leading labor unions, signed the agreement, which has already been endorsed by four other labor unions, but expressed reservations about certain issues, especially that of civil servants' salary arrears.

This agreement stipulates: A gradual reimbursement of nine months' salary arrears to civil servants, which will be converted into internal debts and; a social truce which will enable the government to implement the social and economic redress measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund.

The agreement makes no mention of salary increases for the public or private sectors, the CSTC's main demand. The CSTC organized a "warning" strike from 5 to 7 April, demanding a 70 percent salary increase, but the strike was not followed.

The CSTC also decided to join the ad hoc committee set up by the government and the four labor unions which had earlier signed the agreement. The committee will examine the government's economic adjustment measures, notably the privatization of part of public enterprises.

Rwanda**RPF, Government Agree to Hold Talks in Tanzania***LD2104153994 Brussels La Une Radio Network in French 1500 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Excerpt] We have just heard that the emergency government, put in place after President Habyarimana was killed, and the Rwandan Patriotic Front have agreed to meet on Saturday in Tanzania. The meeting, sponsored by the Tanzanian president, will take place in Arusha, in northern Tanzania. [passage omitted]

Prospects for Success Considered Dim*AB2104163794 Paris AFP in English 1554 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[By David Chazan]

[Text] Nairobi, April 21 (AFP)—Proposed peace talks in Tanzania this weekend between Rwandan rebels and their foes in the interim government seemed unlikely to stem ethnic bloodletting, diplomats and analysts said Thursday [21 April].

The rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front [RPF] told AFP that its delegates would go to the northern Tanzanian town of Arusha to meet army representatives, but would refuse to talk to members of the interim government which they do not recognise.

"Our delegation will be essentially military and it will be talking to military men, not to the government, which is illegitimate," rebel spokesman James Rwego said by telephone from Brussels.

But Rwanda's ambassador to Kenya said the rebels would have to negotiate with the government, formed after the death of President Juvenal Habyarimana in a mysterious April 6 plane crash plunged the tiny central African nation into tribal carnage that has cost tens of thousands of lives.

"Our delegation will be a government delegation, not a military one," ambassador Cyprien Habimana said.

"We have an interim government, and the army is under the orders of the government. We are not a military dictatorship," Habimana said.

African diplomats familiar with the centuries-old tribal feud between the majority Hutus, who dominate the army, and the minority Tutsis who form the backbone of the rebel movement, expressed scepticism about the outcome of the Tanzanian-mediated talks.

"There's too much bitterness after all the bloodshed, and neither side is willing to accept the other's conditions," said a senior envoy in Nairobi.

"If the rebels are saying that they will only talk to the military, that could simply mean that they aren't ready to talk at all," the diplomat said.

Tanzania brokered peace accords signed in August between the two sides which were hailed as a breakthrough in efforts to end the three-year civil war that erupted when the rebels invaded from neighbouring Uganda in October 1990.

But the death of Habyarimana, a Hutu, and the army's claim that his plane was shot down rekindled the war.

The Presidential Guard spearheaded massacres of Tutsis in the capital Kigali, still littered with bodies more two weeks after the killings began.

Death squads are still hacking and clubbing to death people suspected of being Tutsis or rebel sympathisers.

United Nations' efforts to broker a ceasefire have so far failed.

The government is believed to be unwilling to accept a rebel demand for the interim administration to be disbanded.

"How can they negotiate anything if one side doesn't even recognise the other?" the diplomat said.

Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who convened the talks, has met separately with the rebel front's vice-chairman Patrick Mazimhaka and the home affairs minister in the interim government, Faustin Munyazesa.

The UN spokesman in Kigali, Mactar Gueye, welcomed the Tanzanian initiative and expressed the hope that Rwanda's neighbours, worried that the bloodshed could spill over into their countries, could find ways of putting pressure on both sides to lay down their arms.

The slaughter in Rwanda has sparked a regional refugee crisis. At least 50,000 Rwandans have streamed into neighbouring countries.

The UN meanwhile confirmed that rebels had captured the northern town of Byumba this week.

The rebels have also claimed to have gained ground against government forces in Kigali, in the northeastern Mutura region and in the Buganza area to the east.

They also said they had surrounded Habyarimana's hometown, the northern Hutu stronghold of Ruhengeri.

UN officials were unable to confirm the claims as the fighting on several fronts has made travel impossible in Rwanda, a patchwork of rebel and government-held pockets.

Prime Minister-Designate Comments

LD2104205994 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] We have the first interview with Faustin Twagiramungu since he fled his house in Kigali on the morning of 7 April. He is the prime minister-designate and should lead the next transition government in Rwanda. He narrowly escaped arrest and death. Today he is at a secure place. He spoke this evening for the first time. The extract we chose to broadcast tonight is about the possible outcome of the inter-Rwandan peace talks scheduled for 23 April in Tanzania. Christophe Boisbouvier asked Faustin Twagiramungu what conditions the rebels may set before any agreement can be reached:

[Begin Twagiramungu recording] There will be no negotiation with the interim government. This government has not respected the peace agreement, which is the basic law ruling our country today. Today we must take a political decision through contacts between officers of the General Staff and the RPF. As for the government, there can be no contact with them as the government does not exist. This solution needs a pre-condition: do the military agree to denounce the presidential guard and pacify the Rwandan people? Do they agree to demand that the massacre they themselves started be stopped in the whole country?

If these conditions are accepted and if they take the decision of stopping the broadcasts of the famous Milles Collines independent radio, then I think that a political solution could be found. [end recording]

Opposition Leader Twagiramungu Views Crisis

LD2204105694 Paris Radio France International in French 0545 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Interview with opposition leader Faustin Twagiramungu by Christophe Boisbouvier; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] Our guest this morning is the Rwandan opposition leader Faustin Twagiramungu, who is interviewed by Christophe Boisbouvier. There has been no news of this key Rwandan figure since 7 April. I remind you that he was designated to lead the future transitional government in accordance with the Arusha agreement. Faustin Twagiramungu succeeded in escaping from the soldiers of the Presidential Guard who were looking for him in the streets of Kigali. Today he is in a safe place and for the first time he gives us his account of the events that followed the assassination of President Habyarimana. Christophe Boisbouvier spoke to him:

[Twagiramungu] The shooting started at 0505 on the morning of 7 April. I had a conversation with the prime minister. She told me that her house was surrounded and that she wanted to go to speak on the radio but could not do so, because it seems that the people were very serious and that she feared for her life. We talked throughout that morning and we exchanged points of view on the

situation until 0830. At 0830 the gendarmes informed me that the situation was becoming very serious; I thank the French ambassador for having communicated with UNAMIR [UN Mission in Rwanda]. UNAMIR then sent me an armored vehicle which picked me up at around 1230, and at that very moment I heard the news of the assassination of the prime minister by the Presidential Guard. I remained cut off from the outside world from 7 April until I was invited to escape with the UNAMIR staff, which is what I did.

[Boisbouvier] Was the assassination of opposition leaders ordered at the highest level, or was it decided by low-level authority in the Presidential Guard?

[Twagiramungu] It was not a low-level authority in the Presidential Guard which decided that a massacre of opposition leaders should be carried out. It seems to me that it had already been decided upon a long time before, because the political authorities of the [word indistinct] party had decided to distribute weapons to the militia of the MRND [National Revolutionary Movement for Development]. I don't understand how the Presidential Guard could have found everyone in their homes and everyone's address. This was done and planned by extremists within the army. They are extremists of [word indistinct] who are now using other personalities to lead international public opinion into thinking that the conflict is of an ethnic nature. This is not the case. If this were an interethnic conflict why then would all opposition leaders, Tutsi and Hutu alike, have been assassinated?

[Boisbouvier] Who do you think is behind the attack on President Habyarimana's plane?

[Twagiramungu] I don't personally think that the president was assassinated by the Belgians. What for? Nor do I think that this method was used by the RPF [Rwandan Patriotic Front]. I think the president was assassinated by extremist soldiers within the Presidential Guard or simply by soldiers within his circle, soldiers forming a clan within the army. Why? Because extremist soldiers wanted the president to resume war [with the RPF]. The president had merely wanted to use delaying tactics by refusing the formation of a transitional government. Extremist soldiers did not accept these delaying tactics. They purely and simply preferred to eliminate him in order to continue to enjoy their privileges if, of course, they succeed in winning such a war. [passage omitted]

Massacres Spread to Butare; Militia Bars Roads

LD2104134294 Brussels La Une Radio Network in French 1100 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Excerpts] In Rwanda, the Patriotic Front still has the military initiative on the ground. Kigali is still subject to shelling and sporadic gunfire. In the north of the country, the Patriotic Front has taken the town of Byumba, an important strategic center. This time the news has been confirmed by the United Nations. Francois Rijkmans reports:

[Rijkmans] [passage omitted] Violence is continuing up country. This time it is clear that the Butare region in the south, which until now had been miraculously preserved from the massacres, is now getting its full dose. People who have taken refuge in schools or churches are being killed. The militia are barring the roads, which are crowded with thousands of people. Militiamen are slaughtering on the spot those who are fleeing.

At the frontier, on the road between Butare and Bujumbura, people trying to get into Burundi have been killed. Dozens of people with machete, bullet, or shrapnel injuries have arrived in the hospital of Butare where there is a Medecins Sans Frontieres team. There is a large Tutsi minority in the Butare area, but traditionally there has been harmonious coexistence between the two groups there, to such an extent that certain Hutu radicals from the north suspect the southern Hutus of being too close to the Tutsis.

The day before yesterday the prefect of the region and the military commander, two moderates, were replaced by people close to the radicals.

RPF Reports Control of Byumba, Rwamagana

EA2104161894 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in English to Rwanda 1100 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Excerpts] The Rwandan (?killer) Army still continues its operation of causing massacres in various parts of the country. Thousands of people are returning to their homes around the town of Byumba, which is now under RPF control. [passage indistinct] Some of the returnees are from (?homes) for the displaced, while others are fleeing from government-controlled areas due to harassment by government forces.

In areas of Rwamagana, thousands of people welcomed the Rwandan Patriotic Army forces, which saved many of them who have been in hiding for weeks. Rwamagana town is now under RPF control after heavy exchange of fire where the commanding officer of the government forces in the area was seriously injured.

In Kigali, also, fighting was reported yesterday between the Rwandan Patriotic Army and government forces around [words indistinct]. Government forces suffered heavy losses.

RPF Says Government Forces Suffering Losses in Kigali

EA2104205894 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in Kinyarwanda to Rwanda 1730 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] fighters continue their campaign to liberate our country. News from the front sent to us by Calixte Mugabo says commanders of

the government forces continue to send soldiers to their deaths at Rebero Hill in Kigali, where 100 soldiers, including their commanders, have been killed. At Jari Hill, also in Kigali, around 100 also have been killed.

In Rwamagana in eastern Rwanda, which is in the hands of the RPF, a colonel who was commanding the government forces was injured. The question now is why soldiers continue to die protecting the clique of killers. They should see the truth and rather fight the killers who are determined to exterminate the whole country.

Let us return to war news from the Kigali area. Our colleague Calixte Mugabo informs us that currently the RPF controls the communes of Gikoro, Gikomero and Bicumbi. In areas where government forces are withdrawing, they are leaving behind many heavy weapons.

ICRC Official Says Situation in Kigali 'Desperate'

LD2104200594 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Excerpts] In Rwanda, fresh fighting broke out today in Kigali. [passage omitted] Philippe Gaillard, the ICRC representative in the Rwandan capital, spoke to us on the telephone about an hour ago:

[Begin Gaillard recording] The situation in Kigali is extremely tense. Only 15 minutes ago—it is now exactly 1850 hours in Kigali—we had to rush to the ground floor of this building because of an exchange of heavy weapons fire between the RPF and government troops. Rebero hill was under fire for most of the day, and the hotel on top of that hill, occupied by the RPF, is now ablaze.

The situation in Kigali, as elsewhere in Rwanda, is despairing and desperate. This is dialogue by the gun and the machete—nothing else. [passage omitted] I take this opportunity to appeal to the international community, and especially to the Rwandans listening to RFI, to stop this suicide. All are losers in this war. All are losers. [end recording]

Zaire

Tshisekedi Named Opposition Candidate for Premier

EA2004192994 Bukavu Voix du Zaire in French 0430 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Etienne Tshisekedi has been appointed a candidate for the post of prime minister by the Zairean opposition. Etienne Tshisekedi signed the People's Palace Protocol Agreement between the opposition and the political forces of the conclave on 19 April.

Eritrea

Defense Cooperation Agreement Signed With Ethiopia

EA2104150894 Asmara Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 1600 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Eritrea and Ethiopia have agreed to cooperate in the field of defense. A meeting of defense ministers of the two countries, which began in Addis Ababa on 12 April, wound up today with a joint agreement. At the end of the meeting, Eritrean Defense Minister Mesfin Hagos and Ethiopian Defense Minister Siye Abraha signed an agreement on security and military activities [words indistinct]. Reports reaching us say that points raised in the four-day meeting were discussed and that both countries have fully agreed to implement them. [passage omitted]

Somalia

Mogadishu Airport Reopened After Talks

AB2104174994 Paris AFP in English 1655 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Nairobi, April 21 (AFP)—The UN-controlled airport in Mogadishu reopened Thursday [21 April] after fighting between the city's warring clans died down following talks between UN officials and clan leaders, a UN official said.

UN Operations in Somalia (UNOSOM) spokesman George Bennett told AFP by phone from the Somali capital that following the talks an official ceasefire was expected to come into effect only on Friday.

He said sporadic gunfire during the day had died down completely and the airport reopened by mid-day. Arrangements for an April 25 meeting of warring clans as agreed in Nairobi would go on as planned, he added.

Fighting erupted between the Habr Gedir and Hawadle clans on Wednesday, with both sides battling for territory around the airport. Two UN soldiers, a Malaysian and a Nepali, were wounded in crossfire.

The fighting prevented UN staff from moving around the city and forced them to retreat to the main UN compound in south Mogadishu, while staffers living outside it were temporarily moved inside.

Several flights out of Mogadishu were also cancelled as fighters from the Habr Gedir clan of warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid battled the Hawadle with mortars and rocket-propelled grenades, according to the UN spokesman.

The Habr Gedir have a long-standing dispute with the Hawadle over employment at the airport, controlled by the Hawadle until the first US Marines landed there in December 1992.

Fighting between them has killed about nine Somalis and wounded another 40 over the past five days.

Two Nepalis peacekeepers were killed in crossfire and a Gambian employee of the UN refugee agency died when gunmen opened fire on a UN plane in southwestern Somalia on Monday.

More than 80 UN soldiers and several civilian UN officials have been killed since the UNOSOM was launched in May last year.

SNA Says UNOSOM Illegally Disarming Somalis

EA2104162494 (Clandestine) Radio Mogadishu Voice of the Great Somali People in Somali 1700 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Somali National Alliance (SNA) officials recently met Ambassador (Atwal Karim), the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) political director. The UNOSOM's responsibilities in Somalia and the UNOSOM forces' violation of the Somali people's rights were discussed. Abdulkarim Ahmed Ali, the United Somali Congress secretary general made it clear during the meeting that UNOSOM illegally disarms Somali people. He said [words indistinct] such acts. SNA proposed to UNOSOM that:

1. Given that UNOSOM's duty is confined to safeguarding humanitarian aid and maintaining the security of relief agencies, it should order its forces to refrain from acts that are beyond its jurisdiction.
2. It should remove the checkpoints in the city and its outskirts where UNOSOM forces disarm people:
3. It should increase the meetings between the SNA and UNOSOM so to enable the discussion of security issues.

For his part, Ambassador (Atwal Karim) promised that the issues discussed by the two sides will be conveyed to UNOSOM officials. The SNA side was represented by Abdulkarim Ahmed Ali and Professor Ise Mohamed Siad, the foreign affairs secretary.

SNA Officials Meet With UN Special Representative

EA2104155794 (Clandestine) Radio Mogadishu Voice of the Great Somali People in Somali 1700 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] A meeting to discuss political, security, and relief issues was held in Mogadishu today between Somali National Alliance (SNA) members and Ambassador Lansana Kouyate, the UN special representative to Somalia. The SNA members included Abdulkarim Ahmed Ali, the United Somali Congress secretary general; Abdi Hassan Awale Qaybdiid, the SNA chairman for internal affairs; and Lieutenant General Abdurahman Warsame Elmi Aare. They made it clear that the SNA is

not responsible for existing problems such as kidnapping, robbery, and murder, and rejected such accusations. They added that these acts are perpetrated by groups and individuals opposed to the good of the Somali people. They also asked the United Nations not to overlook the problems but to assist in solving them, particularly the problems of disease and drought which are prevalent in the country.

Ambassador Lansana Kouyate briefed the meeting on the Nairobi meetings of Somali organizations and the technical reasons for the delay of the expected 15 April Mogadishu meeting. He said that God willing, the meeting will be held on 25 April. He also reported on meetings he had held in New York and Washington with

the UN Security Council and donor countries. He welcomed improvements in the Somali police force and the start of the work of the joint police committee to combat thieves and bandits.

The UN force in Somalia was also discussed during the meeting and Ambassador Lansana Kouyate said that the duty of the UN force is to safeguard humanitarian aid adding that it has nothing to do with compulsory disarmament.

The meeting ended well with understandings reached on the agenda. Both sides stressed that joint work between the SNA and UN Operation in Somalia should be strengthened and that relations should be maintained consistently.

IFP Leader Buthelezi Discusses Elections

MB2104212694 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1830 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Interview with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi by announcer Penny Smythe on the "Agenda" program in Johannesburg—live]

[Text] [Smythe] Good evening and welcome to Agenda. The Inkatha Freedom Party's 11th hour decision to partake in the elections. Was it brinkmanship or a real change of heart? If one had to go according to newspaper headlines today, the level of violence in the country has plummeted. Has this been as a result of the IFP's decision. To answer these and other questions is Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Good evening, Dr. Buthelezi.

Well, you have waited as we say, til the 11th hour—just one week before the election to decide to take part in those elections. Why?

[Buthelezi] We had decided in January not to participate, but then we were given some kind of authority as a Central Committee to look at what was then ongoing negotiations to see whether in fact we could change the decision, and various things took place. In the Freedom Alliance we were negotiating with the ANC and government, and later on there were trilateral talks in December when there was that paper called the yellow paper on the 19th of December, which was more or less the bottom line paper, and then after that, of course—since nothing came out of it.

Then in January the king came out demanding sovereignty of the monarchy and so on, which made a completely different ball game altogether. So then when the king raised this matter, it became very difficult for us, those of us who are IFP and also Zulus to move forward because the king said if his concerns were not addressed, then he was not prepared to advise his people—his subjects—to participate in the election. So I mean that is the thing then when the king's matter was addressed, then there was no excuse for us to go in for elections.

[Smythe] Was this not actually addressed two weeks ago before the mediators came out here?

[Buthelezi] By whom?

[Smythe] By the NP [National Party], by the ANC and negotiations. They didn't offer you what you wanted?

[Buthelezi] That was just cheap propaganda by the ANC and the and the NP because what was discussed at Skukuza were just pacts which they were promising the king. They didn't address the issue of the kingdom itself. The king was not interested in pacts for himself and the family, but he was actually talking about the land. He was talking about his people.

[Smythe] What have you achieved for the Zulu people in general and the IFP in particular that wasn't achievable

two weeks ago or a month ago. What specifically have you achieved for the king as well?

[Buthelezi] I think that for the king we've achieved this recognition now which is going to be enshrined in the constitution of the country, and that was not anywhere near the king a few weeks ago, even at Skukuza. But on Monday a special session of the Parliament of South Africa has been summoned to actually enshrine this in the constitution.

[Smythe] But he will be a constitutional monarch, that he will have certain... what will he have? What will actually be his status in kwaZulu/Natal?

[Buthelezi] That will come out now when the constitution of kwaZulu/Natal is actually drafted, because the constitution of kwaZulu/Natal is not drafted. The constitution that we drafted a couple of years ago in fact was never put before the negotiation forum, so it was never actually looked at by the negotiation forum.

[Smythe] So the king wanted specific rights enshrined in a constitution. Am I correct in that? He wanted certain status. Now what specifically was that?

[Buthelezi] Well, because you see, as long as we were talking about a federation, a possible federation, then the king thought that the self-determination of the Zulu people would then be addressed through a federal formula, because a federal formula does provide for self-rule on a regional basis with devolution of power. Whereas in fact once it's a unitary state, then it meant that that question would not be addressed, and that is why he decided to take it upon himself to go and see the state president and had a few meetings subsequent to that with the state president.

[Smythe] Other than the status of the king, what do you feel you have achieved to allow you to take part?

[Buthelezi] I think that the recognition that the principle of our symmetry which from the very beginning of negotiations we tried to persuade the people at the negotiation forum to recognize the principle of our symmetry that these regions need not necessarily be the same, so the fact that kwaZulu/Natal is going to be a kingdom that's accepted right across the board is in fact a recognition of the principle of our symmetry that kwaZulu/Natal is different and, therefore, it is likely to have a constitution different from other regions of South Africa.

[Smythe] Dr. Buthelezi, we've seen a great deal of violence in the last few weeks. Do you feel now looking back over these last few weeks that it's been worth the cost of lives lost and the cost to the economy of that uncertainty by people.

[Buthelezi] If I should answer that question I'll be implying that we are the cause of the violence, whereas the violence has been there for 10 years in fact, and has become endemic. And I would also say that, therefore, the violence also is of different types because there is the

sort of violence arising from socioeconomic conditions, and then there's violence, of course, which is political which goes to incite...[pauses] violence which just comes about because of the conflict between the ANC and IFP members—which is the political violence, and which members of both these parties, ANC and IFP were involved in, are involved in fact because I don't think that we should have an illusion that it's over. We should just praise the Almighty at present we don't have that; and hope that with God's grace that it might last for good.

[Smythe] Let's just take that there, you say that there's political violence between the two groups, and I think that it's an accepted fact that you might have some ANC members living on a hill over there and some IFP members living on a hill over there, and never the twain shall meet. Now the political parties have felt that they weren't safe going into a lot of areas to campaign. Are those sort of no go areas now free and open? What are you going to do ensure that the people will allow that kind of free campaigning?

[Buthelezi] I suppose that—I am hoping myself that the agreement that we signed with Mr. Mandela and the president of South Africa somehow send some signals. This is just a hope of course. They send signals to our followers on the ground that in fact we believe that the only road that we should follow is that of peace and nonviolence if we want our country to survive and to prosper.

[Smythe] You know, I just wanted you to go back on something, you mentioned the Freedom Alliance earlier on, and of course we were watching the news before we came into the studio here this evening. Watching Ferdi Hartzenberg there speaking on behalf of the CP [Conservative Party] and saying our demands haven't been met therefore we cannot take part in the election, words that you've said many times. How do you feel now that you decided to take part?

[Buthelezi] In fact I informed Dr. Hartzenberg about it that even before we signed the agreement I sent him a (?call on this). I was in Pretoria. I had to show him that in this case the issue addressed really more realistically insofar as it was going to be enshrined in the constitution on Monday, and that therefore we had to undertake to participate in the election as a result of that.

[Smythe] And of course it's too late for them now? Just you made it by a whisker. And I think with all this going on, there's been very little time for campaigning on an official level. You've been at the center of South African political life for many months now without doing any real campaigning. Nobody really knows what your manifesto is. Could you give us some kind of brief outline on let's say the economic policy of the IFP toward kwaZulu/Natal in particular?

[Buthelezi] We've always believed in the free market. In fact, that has always been the belief of the IFP as far as the economy is concerned. We do not know of any

economic system that is better than the free enterprise system, and therefore even when it was not fashionable in African circles to extol the virtues of this enterprise system, we did so unashamedly, that this enterprise system was the only system that we know that can create jobs as quickly as possible, and is the only system that is such a potent force for development, which our people need very desperately. So we believe that our country can only go forward, and we can only address the poverty of our people through this enterprise system if it's allowed to flourish. We believe that of course it will be necessary for the government to intervene on certain issues...

[Smythe, interrupting] Where specifically do you see the government being very important—the state?

[Buthelezi] I think the state is important as far as disparities which will be very much with us for quite a long time to come because in this country per capita—because of apartheid and racism—black people suffered, because in education they were rather funded on a racial basis—a sliding basis, on a disparity basis if you like, and therefore we believe that those gaps will have to be bridged only through the intervention of the government.

[Smythe] Does that apply then to something like land redistribution and the distribution of wealth which some people are saying take from the rich to give to the poor—just as a random example. How do you see that as being dealt with?

[Buthelezi] In fact we also believe in the redistribution of wealth, but we've always said that redistribution of wealth as far as IFP is concerned means only redistribution of opportunity. But that is quite separate of course from the issue of land, because it is true that our people are land hungry, and that is an issue that must be addressed because for instance per square meter, I think that kwaZulu as far as density is concerned, is the most crowded place in South Africa—the most crowded region. Durban, our metropolis, for instance, is the fastest growing city in the world—I'm told—after Mexico.

[Smythe] So how do you see that actually happening? How do you see that being dealt with as an issue—the land redistribution?

[Buthelezi] First of all, there are stretches and stretches of land which I call state lands, which of course after our conquests was called Crown lands, which I think as a matter of urgency should be distributed to our people and to enable our people who want to farm for instance to farm. And there is also the issue of absentee farming, where there are people who don't farm at all but who have stretches and stretches of farms. I think that also should be looked at to address that issue.

[Smythe] Right, when it comes to...[pauses] You mentioned the economic situation as being the free market system, is one that you would particularly follow as the IFP, as part of your manifesto as being the main driving

force behind job creation. What about international investment, local investment, do you see international investment as being very important?

[Buthelezi] Well, I think this really very important indeed, because our country is in such dire straights at this time precisely because of the isolation of South Africa, because of the sanctions campaign. I tried to warn, because I was totally against that myself. Whereas I was an opponent of apartheid and campaigned against apartheid like many other African leaders in this country, or opposition politicians here like the DP [Democratic Party] and so on. But I warned about it—going so far as to say that because apartheid was such a wicked system, let us now penalize whites by destroying the economy—because I said that would devastate the poorest of the poor first. So we have a situation now where about 46 percent of the people that should be working in this country have no jobs. So I mean it is going to take us a long time before we are able to do that. So foreign investment is absolutely crucial, it is very important in contributing, but also investment by our own entrepreneurs is important as well, equally important.

[Smythe] Alright, we've spoken about the IFP being a Zulu party, as well as for other people, but primarily a party for Zulu people. Now I'm not a Zulu person, why would I vote for you?

[Buthelezi] Well, I think that is the propaganda, cheap propaganda of our opponents, saying it is a Zulu party. In fact there are some journalists that I refuse to speak to because they always say it is a Zulu-based party. I don't see them doing the same thing saying that the National Party is an Afrikaner-based party. I don't see them saying about the DP that's an Anglo-Saxon-based, a Judeo-Anglo party. So I think that is just cheap propaganda.

I must recall that of course when Inkatha was only two years, I was summoned, you know, to Pretoria by Minister Kruger, you know Jimmy Kruger, the famous Jimmy Kruger who talked about Steve Biko's death, making [word indistinct]. Now he summoned me to threaten me. He said that he sees—and it was only two years—he said he sees that, you know, membership of Inkatha is not confined to Zulus. So I told him that in fact it wasn't. Then he said that I was polarizing black and white in the country and said that if I didn't stop it he'd take action. I said that as long as the National Party takes pride of different ethnic groups in the white community, I had the same rights, so that stands out as evidence that even when we were two years old, through his intelligence services he discovered that it was not confined to Zulus only.

[Smythe] Alright, but then why would a person vote for the IFP. What do you feel you can give to a South African citizen?

[Buthelezi] Well, I think that our track record in the first place, that people know us, and they have every reason to

trust us, that we have been motivated in everything that we have done, by the interest, not just of people in kwaZulu/Natal or black people, but the interest of every South African. Because when we campaigned for instance against sanctions, we were not doing this just for ourselves, but we were doing it in the interest of South Africa as a whole because we didn't want South Africa to be a wasteland.

[Smythe] You've said in press reports that you will accept the results of this election provided that the international community says, you know, everything was okay and it was free and fair. What happens if Inkatha doesn't do well, if you fare badly both nationally and on a regional level. How will you feel about the election results then?

[Buthelezi] Well, as a democrat, you know, I must accept the judgment of the people of South Africa. So as far as I am concerned, as far as my party is concerned, as far as the Central Committee, and my members, we are prepared to accept the verdict of the people. But at the same time of course, I must add that everyone knows that only an (?insane) politician like myself would participate in the election, you know, seven days before the election took place. But even that decision should make you think about voting for me because I did that in the interest of South Africa, because I thought that if in fact we did not get the concerns of His Majesty the king addressed, and therefore participation in the election, that this country was going slide into an abyss, and this would have happened. So even there I was concerned about the interest of everyone.

So I've been disadvantaged as a leader, and my party is disadvantaged in that we haven't had time to campaign really like all the other parties. But nevertheless, I could well say, and some people would defend me, that you know, we were not giving enough time to campaign, and that was not by accident, because from the very beginning, the date was actually manipulated, because the 27th was described as sacrosanct. I don't know why it was sacrosanct. From the very beginning, you know, people were actually pushed into accepting the 27th of April as cast in granite, and I don't why it should be cast in granite.

[Smythe] Well, you mentioned that you don't have very much time to campaign, and that of course is a fact. But what is also a fact is something I mentioned a little earlier, and the fact that you actually have been at the center of South African politics for the last few months, to some people in the negative way, and to your supporters obviously in a very positive way. So some people could say that was a rather cynical move on the part of the Inkatha Freedom Party to stretch it out. Possibly there have reports that maybe you felt that you weren't going to be a tremendous success at the polls, that this was one way of gaining concessions without having to go through all the campaigning that the other parties have done, but have kept your name in the forefront of the political field all this time?

[Buthelezi] I'll say that I had no script for that. To say that it was drawn out deliberately as a strategy is wrong, because it was the issues that were not addressed at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. Codesa was not destroyed by the IFP, it was the ANC and the South African Communist Party alliance who destroyed Codesa. And in fact they walked out of it, they threatened the whole country with mass action, they tried to bring the country to a standstill, they terrified Mr. de Klerk and forced him of course to sign the Record of Understanding, which messed up the whole process of negotiation.

So, we are not responsible for all those things, and I would say therefore that there's nothing that we didn't do try and bring about compromise or some understanding, because even after our delegates withdrew from the forum, we then started vigorously talking to—on a bilateral basis with both the ANC and the government. And then by December we were in a trilateral situation with them discussing on a trilateral, because we were desperate, because we wanted to get to the electoral. We've never been against going to the electoral process.

[Smythe] The way you're speaking, you see yourself as an honest broker of your beliefs and the beliefs of your party and for your king, but you're being described in some local press, and indeed in some overseas press, as a demon, as a spoiler, and in one as a public relations disaster. Do you feel a little bit hard done by the press?

[Buthelezi] Well, I don't about that. That's a question of opinion, because the largest newspaper—THE SUNDAY TIMES—I think you must have seen that editorial on Easter, which completely vindicated my stand, completely the opposite of Mr. Ken Owen and his paper who have tried to demonize me, even swearing at me, even defaming me in most cases. It is not true that... [pauses].

From the beginning the things weren't wrong like th's, I mean from the outset. The government and the ANC were supposed to be people that must determine our future, so negotiations were made by (Pollard) negotiations because the ANC and the government were going to do it. In other words if I may use an analogy, two cats in the room were enough. When I appeared as the third cat somehow I took a knock by the media by other people including diplomats as spoiling what could be a good thing if the ANC and the government sow it up between themselves. But in fact this is what caused the problem.

Now of course, then I had to be destroyed, then that's why there was this campaign by both the government and the ANC and national intelligence, who in fact did their damndest even to incite the press, even when we discuss with Mr. de Klerk.

It's just unfortunate that he has got that man called Dr. Barnard, who was the head of intelligence, because he is the man really who has been responsible behind scenes for what has happened. Because even some of the

discussions between ourselves when there was no media, for instance Skukuza, he gave them to the press. For example, in Skukuza it was suggested that the king should only go in with a few people. But then we had a delegation which had legal advisers and so on, and he is the one who was arguing with my official, Mr. Stan Armstrong. I mean, that took place just between them, in the veranda, but the next thing that was in the first page of THE SUNDAY TIMES. I mean the water has been muddied by the fact that this man, Dr. Barnard, has really been the power behind everything that has gone wrong in this country.

[Smythe] Just continue with that kind of thought. You stood for not making any deals with the present government until Nelson Mandela was released, until the ANC was unbanned. So there again do you feel that you've had rather the raw end of the deal there, as far as the ANC and the NP were concerned?

[Buthelezi] I wish you were present at Skukuza, because when the issue of the date came up, I said to Dr. Mandela, I said my brother, I love you very much, which I do really, because to be a friend with someone for more than 40 years is quite something. So now I said to him, you know, I waited for years and years for you. You mean you can't wait for me even for a few weeks? Just for a few weeks? Can't you do that? I put this, you know, it was nearly with tears in my eyes.

[Smythe] Well, between tears in your eyes and Mr. Mandela saying he would go down on his knees, there was obviously a very emotional decision that you had to make to actually go into these elections. I wonder now what's going to happen.

[Buthelezi] His going on the knees was just really cheap vilification really, because there was no need for him to use the expression that he needs to go on his knees, because I've never refused to see Mr. Mandela. Whenever meetings have been requested I've never refused, I've never had any problems. And in fact, it's strange you know, when we are together, you'll be surprised at the affections that we've had for each other and the warmth that we've had for each other, and comradeship in the ANC surfaces. It comes to the top.

[Smythe] Does that mean after the elections when the results are out, you're in Parliament, let's assume you get in, this involvement there by the IFP for the IFP, you are going to be able to work with a government of national unity?

[Buthelezi] Well, I don't know about that, but that's what the constitution says, so therefore I suppose if one is in it, one will have to abide by the constitution without necessarily saying that I like that arrangement because I would prefer myself to be in opposition politics. Or if I can't make it, if the people do not elect me, because there are still a few days, they can decide to elect me, I stand just as good a chance as Mr. de Klerk or Mr. Mandela. But if they don't then I would have liked to be in opposition politics.

[Smythe] So outside the parliamentary system, basically, you would be happy to do that.

[Buthelezi] Yes, of course I would be happy to do that, in fact, that's what [pauses] You know, a lot of people surprise me, because they said to me what will you do if you don't go in for elections? What will happen to you? And it amused me because for 83 years black people have not been part and parcel of the electoral process in this country. We've been out of it and we have been in politics outside opposing apartheid, opposing segregation, we were doing that outside. So that there was nothing traumatic about being outside and actually opposing the thing from outside.

[Smythe] There has been talk by some of the political parties of joining up and forming sort of coalitions, or whatever word one wants to use, with other parties, either before or after the election to gain strength in certain regions. How do you feel about that as the IFP?

[Buthelezi] I don't think it's feasible as the constitution stands to have coalitions as one had in the past. Maybe in Parliament we can go on one side by arguing on the same side, but to actually form coalitions I thought—I'm subject to correction here—that the constitution does not make it possible.

[Smythe] So you don't see yourself joining up? Supposing you don't get elected into Parliament, you don't see yourself joining up with the right wing to form some kind of guerrilla outfit that you would form sort of Vietnam situation where you go underground?

[Buthelezi] I would say in the first place, I rejected violence long ago, and when I went to London in '79 to see Mr. Oliver Thambo, it was precisely this issue on which we could not agree because I could not agree to the armed struggle, because I've always denounced violence, because the founding fathers of ANC founded the ANC on the basis that the ANC was going to wage a nonviolent struggle through negotiations. So when the ANC decided, because of the intransigence of the government, to take up arms, I disagreed with them. So therefore I'm not attracted really by guerrilla warfare. Even when my people war waged against the people who were oppressing us, the South African apartheid regime, it was never an option I ever considered.

[Smythe] You are minister of police as well, Dr. Buthelezi.

[Buthelezi] Absolutely.

[Smythe] What is going to happen to the kwaZulu Police? I mean, we have seen a lot of IFP supporters who are definitely against, for example, the National Peacekeeping Force, seeing it as an ANC-, an NP-dominated police force. What is going to happen to the kwaZulu Police? Are you going to encourage them to join a national police force?

[Buthelezi] Well, actually I suppose that is inevitable. I mean, I think that the fact that you, I mean we are in (?an

election), makes it inevitable that they will be merged into a national police force. But of course, as I said at (?the rallies), I think that is absolutely wrong because the king himself has stated, you know, that in his kingdom he would like to have his own police force.

[Smythe] But that is not going to be annulled, is it? A private, a sort of private police forces or private armies or....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] Well, it is not private. I mean, America, they have got different police forces in various states. They have even a militia. You know, the king wants a militia as well because they have a militia in various states in America, although you have got the national force, y)So, I mean it is a question of saying it is not going to be allowed. It's neither here nor there because, I mean, there are so many guns now in South Africa that it's really, it's better to regularize this thing and do it properly. In other countries like America do it. If you are going to have a militia, even the states have the militia, if you are going to have the police from the states, have that.

[Smythe] But you would encourage the kwaZulu Police as it stands to participate in a national police force.

[Buthelezi] Yes. You know, as a matter of principle. When I was approached by General Meiring and the commissioner of police, General van der Merwe, when they came to Ulundi last year and suggested that some of our police force should join the National Peacekeeping Force, then I said that, well, I couldn't because in the first place some of our people have been killed by cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing]. And there you are saying that we must merge with them.

Because we saw something very strange in the state president because on the 20th of December 1991 you will remember, even on television, that he stated that he wanted Umkhonto we Sizwe disbanded and that the arms should be (?handed) to the police. But he had such a dressing down from Mr. Mandela that he never opened his mouth about that later.

And the next thing we heard that there was going to be (?a merger) into one force, into the National Peace Keeping Force and also in the SADF [South African Defense Force]. Now, I am very unhappy about that and I think I have been proven right because the exchange of fire that took place at Thokoza just two days ago, I mean bears testimony to that because it was not only the IFP members who complained, but even some members of the ANC were not happy with what happened there.

[Smythe] Dr. Buthelezi, what is it going to be like for you to make your cross on the ballot paper for the first time?

[Buthelezi] Well, I think that it's an experience in fact which will mean that at long last after a decade that one has spent fighting for human rights for our people,

fighting for the franchise for our black people that at long last, you know, we have reached that point.

[Smythe] And it will be a very emotional thing?

[Buthelezi] It will be a very emotional thing I think for all of us in the country as black people in particular to put that cross on the ballot paper.

[Smythe] How are you going to manage? I mean, do you think you actually can manage to campaign now over the next few days nationally as well as regionally?

[Buthelezi] I am trying as much as possible, but if you can't clone yourself, I cannot clone myself and be everywhere where I would like to be, but I mean tomorrow I am going to (?parts) of the Transvaal and I think that those who are conducting our campaign have scheduled me for Soweto on Sunday. But then the days are finished. Then I can't do more than that. I would like to do more than that, you know, but unfortunately as I say I have not done that because I would like to go to the voters myself and to speak for myself with the voters throughout the country.

[Smythe] What do you see as the most pressing problem to face the new government?

[Buthelezi] I think the most pressing problem is meeting the, I mean, the unrealistic expectations that have been printed because, I mean, the fact that we are going to have a government of national unity, or even if it was a black government, will not cause these things that we discussed at the beginning of this interview—the poverty—we are not going to bridge those gaps overnight. And therefore I fear myself, I am very much scared, maybe it is not wise to be in a government of national unity because one will just suffer that blame whether one is responsible for it or not. I fear that the expectations of young people that have been created, when they have been promised that this means that they are going to have housing and so, and all the things that have been promised.

(?These such things will not) [words indistinct] even if we try. They will not have them overnight. I think Mr. Mandela made this point—was it yesterday—as well as at King William's Town that it will take five years or more. But I believe myself it is a generation. I think we should prepare our people that the real struggle is going to begin on the 28th. The real struggle in this country commences after that. We have got to roll up our sleeves and work, you know, all of us as people of this country.

I don't think that we should, even if we have suffered because of apartheid, that other people owe us a living. I think that we should also have, you know, self-help schemes. I have always believed in the IFP. There are twin pillars of our philosophy—self-help and self-reliance. I believe that even if the economic growth will go higher, 5 percent or even more, we will not be able to create the number of jobs, with the democracy we have in the country, we are not going to be able to give every

young person that has catapulted into the labor market with a [words indistinct] job.

So, therefore, it is a very uphill struggle. I think that if we were more realistic in our approach by not, you know, creating expectations that once we are also in charge in this country that everything will vanish like mist. I think that it would really pay dividends for us because then our people can be sober and realize that the real struggle now is going to begin on the 28th.

[Smythe] Dr. Buthelezi, thank you very much for joining us on Agenda tonight.

[Buthelezi] Thanks very much.

IEC Rules Out Another Party Joining Elections

MB2104193094 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1600 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] The Independent Electoral Commission [IEC] has ruled out the possibility of another party joining the election. The chairman of the IEC, Mr. Justice Johann Kriegler, said in Johannesburg that if the CP [Conservative Party] reached an agreement on entering the election, the IEC would be prepared to count votes for the Freedom Front separately in some areas. An IEC spokesman added that by four o'clock this afternoon the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] had still not submitted its candidates lists.

Volksfront, CP Reject Election Participation

MB2104163194 Johannesburg SABA in English 1537 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Report by N. Patterson]

[Text] Pretoria April 21 SABA—The Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front—AVF] and the Conservative Party [CP] would not participate in the elections, right-wing leader Ferdi Hartzenberg told a press conference in Pretoria on Thursday [21 April]. He said the decision had been taken because the African National Congress and the government would not give guarantees that a "volkstaat" [Afrikaner homeland] would be created if the right-wing obtained sufficient support in the elections. He added that if the ANC and government reacted positively to the right-wing's preconditions, the AVF and CP would be prepared to negotiate about the matter.

Dr Hartzenberg said the ANC's Carl Niehaus had said the rightwing would not be granted a volkstaat, whether it participated in the elections or not, while Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's stance had been that he was not conversant with the content of possible agreements in this regard.

Dr Hartzenberg said these developments came after Freedom Front [FF] leader Gen Constand Viljoen asked the AVF and CP on Wednesday to participate in the election on a provincial level in order to prove support for the volkstaat. Dr Hartzenberg said he had told Gen

Viljoen that, with no constitutional guarantee of a volkstaat and self-determination being granted if sufficient support emerged, it would not be possible to participate.

Dr Hartzenberg said the FF should boycott the elections if these guarantees were not written into the constitution. The FF, AVF and CP could then put pressure on the government and ANC to grant the guarantees.

Gen Viljoen's decision to participate without these prior guarantees meant that he was signing away his right to self-determination and placed it in the hands of the SACP [South African Communist Party]/ANC, Dr Hartzenberg said.

Gen Viljoen was invited to attend the news conference but did not.

Asked what action the AVF would now take, Dr Hartzenberg said they did not have specific plans, apart from following the "route of resistance", because they were not revolutionary. "That is why we formed the citizens councils to make our demands clear and to force our will on the incoming government."

He was unaware of AWB [Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging; Afrikaner Resistance Movement] mobilisation plans to "secure" the [Orange] Free State and Transvaal.

State President F W de Klerk told a separate news conference in Pretoria it was too late for the rightwing to participate in the elections unless they did so under the FF's banner. There was no time for new constitutional negotiations.

Mr de Klerk understood that Dr Hartzenberg's requests were subject to preconditions which required further negotiations and this was logistically impossible.

The FF, in the meantime, said the following CP-controlled town councils had declared their support for the FF in the election: Ermelo, Middelburg, Secunda, Standerton, Witbank and Meyerton. Other councils were expected to follow, the FF's chief secretary, Joseph Chiole said.

Meyer, Ramaphosa Reject CP Volkstaat Proposal

MB2104204794 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1600 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said it is too late for the Conservative Party [CP] to participate in the elections. He addressed students at the University of Stellenbosch today.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Ronel van Zyl] Meyer said that CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg could participate under the umbrella of the Freedom Front.

[Meyer] The reasons or conditions which he advances for participation are not practical. He said 800,000 votes must see to it that there is a volkstaat. There is no way that we will yield to that sort of condition for a volkstaat. The issue will have to be negotiated further.

[Van Zyl] In his speech to the students, Meyer castigated the Inkatha Freedom Party for its decision to join the elections at the last moment.

[Meyer] The decision by Inkatha to participate in fact came at a time when Inkatha realized that the election was not going to be postponed.

[Van Zyl] Meyer said he believed the election will be reasonably free and fair. He was optimistic about the new South Africa, and added that white South Africans should not feel uneasy, but should rather look forward to the future with anticipation and excitement. [end recording]

The ANC in its reaction rejected Dr. Hartzenberg's proposal that the principle of a volkstaat must be accepted if the right wing can attract 800,000 votes in the election. This organization's chief negotiator said at a news conference in Johannesburg that the interim constitution was already making provision for a volkstaat that will be able to make recommendations to the constituent assembly.

[Ramaphosa, in English] We do not believe that the proposal that has been put forward by Ferdi Hartzenberg is a proposal that we should take seriously. If Ferdi Hartzenberg wants to participate in the election, he is free to do so, and we would encourage him to be part of Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front. They should contest elections under that name, and we will meet them in Parliament. We will then be able to discuss the idea of a volkstaat more effectively. [end recording]

FF's Viljoen Interviewed on Self-Determination

MB2104200894 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 21 Apr 94 p 21

[Interview with Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen by Chris Whitfield and John Soderlund; place and date not given]

[Text]

On the Freedom Front's [FF] late entry into the election.

[Viljoen] Yes, we came in very late and it will certainly affect the final result. But we have been surprised by the positive reaction we have seen countrywide. People countrywide are very reluctant to vote for the NP [National Party]—just about everybody, even the coloureds. Everybody is very uncertain about what the ANC is going to do. Somehow they think the Freedom Front will be that party which will be able to give guidance which might be of better quality than what they've had in the World Trade Centre between the NP and the ANC. I think everybody opposes the idea that we must give full autonomy to those two players.

They've worked together in the World Trade Centre, no doubt. They are going to work together again and they need a strong opposition.

On his party's support.

[Viljoen] We were so late in registration that it is virtually impossible to make an estimation (but) we have had, so far, a very good attendance at our meetings. We attract full halls. People are very interested. What is also of great value to me is the fact that (when) many Afrikaners who resisted the idea of voting attend meetings and hear the explanation we give on why we are going for the vote, they accept.

On whether the FF will get 35 percent of the Afrikaner vote.

[Viljoen] Sure.

On whether he would take a Cabinet seat if support exceeded the required 5 percent.

[Viljoen] The FF is more constitutionally oriented than governability oriented. I haven't even thought of such a possibility. The major contribution we can make it to apply the principle of self-determination in order to find a real solution for the big problem of South Africa. We have come to the conclusion that SA has always had the wrong constitution, the only reason why it worked is because of the laws we had which put the white people in a position where they could suppress and where they could govern with all the means available.

We repeated the mistake in 1961 when we had the Republic established. We made a mistake with our policy of separate development in that. There was nothing wrong in creating a separate area for the Tswanas or the Zulus. But we made the mistake of forcing these people out of the system, totally on their own, without caring for a proper economy. This is the danger about the future too. Even in the (new) provincial system in SA, you will find that the different provinces will not be able to go for independent economies for each province. You will have to go for a united SA. And I think this is the problem with many of the volkstaat [Afrikaner homeland] people too—those people that think you can take the volkstaat out of SA and put a wall around it—this is not on. So, when you think about a volkstaat, you should think about it as an area—say a 10th area—where you have, based on the principle of asymmetry, special powers, in order to satisfy the principle of self-determination.

Economically, there will have to be negotiated agreements on how the total economy of SA will be a unitary economy. Not only of SA but we favour the idea of southern Africa. So, what do we want. We want political stability and satisfaction by accommodating the people according to their wishes. Let me quote you an example. You know the Zulus as well as I do. There's no way that the Zulu people will accept being subjected to Mr (Nelson) Mandela, who is regarded by them as a Xhosa. And it's not good to say we are past that stage and this is racism again and ethnicity again.

It is a fact, it is a reality in SA, and we have to bear that in mind. Same thing with the Afrikaner people. Same thing with the other people too. Funny, you know, we are now the big propagandists for the idea of self-determination. When I arrived at the Cape we got this idea about the Cape Republic Movement. They approached me and said please, we are also looking for self-determination for the Cape, between the coloureds and the whites. Because they reckon they have built the Cape up to now. And they are being flooded by people being bussed in in order to manipulate the voting. Now they say the solution is to have self-determination. Even some of the other black states are catching on to this idea.

The point I am making is we have always had a basically wrong constitution in South Africa because it never really gave space to the accommodation of all people. And we believe, by applying the principle of self-determination for political autonomy within a territorial base.

On comments by Nelson Mandela that there will be no volkstaat.

[Viljoen] He is electioneering. (Viljoen shows a handwritten letter from Mandela dated December 18 apparently giving in-principle support for the concept of self-determination). He and his whole national executive find acceptable that accord (on a volkstaat) that we never signed. That accord did say the concerns of self-determination must be addressed and it did say we must have joint teams that will work on this. What Mr Mandela is saying in the public is not really in line with what happens on a negotiations' level and I therefore think Mr Mandela has the wrong idea of a volkstaat.

The negotiation is done at the level of Mr (Thabo) Mbeki. Maybe he (Mandela) thinks this idea amounts to taking out the volkstaat, having its own economy, divorcing the rest of South Africa from the assistance that the Afrikaner can give, which is not what we have in mind.

On the constitutional principle making provision for a volkstaat council.

[Viljoen] We negotiated the 34th principal. We are negotiating at the moment the accords that will reinforce the legislation and I would therefore not say we are not putting our faith in the Volkstaat Council, but this is the constitutional instrument created for this purpose.

On differences in strategy with other right-wingers.

[Viljoen] If they can produce a volkstaat before April 27 then I will consider leaving the voting. But if there is no volkstaat, then I would call on those people to vote for us. I have full respect for their views of the emotion of not voting in the election. But strategically, there is no other option. If we want to get...self-determination as soon as possible after April 27, if we want to work with the kwaZulu people in regard to the establishment of

such an idea of self-determination, the best way for us to do it is to climb into the system. Because if you are in now you can always get out, but if you are out now you can never get in.

On whether IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] participation will help the FF cause.

[Viljoen] There is one major difference between the Zulu people and the Afrikaner people: they have an area, a territory, we don't have a territory. The moment we have proved substantial support and the moment we have more or less identified the most suitable core area for the volkstaat, then the whole idea will run parallel and great advantage will exist between us.

On how long it may take to establish a volkstaat.

[Viljoen] Within a month we will have a volkstaat council, (and) there is a constitutional provision for the fact that the whole of the provincial boundaries must be completed within 12 months.

On forms of self-determination not based on territory.

[Viljoen] No, we want to have a territory for the Afrikaner. We believe that is very important. What we also hope to do is supplement the idea of self-determination within the volkstaat with that of self-determination outside a volkstaat, not coupled to a specific area.

The way that we wish to do this is, if we can succeed in establishing community councils—and we have gone a long way in the negotiations to get this accepted—then, let us say from the provinces of the country, they can have five delegates per province, elected from the community councils and they can then be part of an advisory body to the volksraad [Afrikaner national council]. The other idea is the idea of cantons. Let us say we have a concentration of Afrikaners in the northern Cape that would like to be linked to the volkstaat, then maybe we can have a canton of them. They can, through a referendum, prove their desire for self-determination as a community, and they would be allowed to link up constitutionally with the volkstaat. So those are the three ideas: self-determination within the volkstaat, self-determination outside the volkstaat not coupled to the specific area but linked to the volkstaat, and then the idea of cantons.

On his future in government.

[Viljoen] My main concern is a constitutional solution to South Africa. I have always been involved in security, I have always been involved with peacemaking.

On being a military man in the political field.

[Viljoen] A completely different culture. The one thing that is common about this, though, is that if in battle you are given an objective, you get totally devoted to capturing that objective. The approach is that no matter what the sacrifices, you have to achieve your objective. I think the same with politics. Having decided on your

objective, you get the same obsession. I think organisationally, the demands of what we are doing at the moment are as big. When you speak to me, you don't speak just on the political side.

On whether he believes a military option is still viable.

[Viljoen] Of course, yes. Its always an option. I believe that strength is important in South Africa and I believe (in) self-defence ability, especially if you consider the vulnerability of our people within isolated farming areas, and so on. Remember the commando system, self-defence has been part of our culture ever since we faced the dangers of a new land.

I have never back-pedalled on the military option. I have always said that I will use all peaceful means available, and I have often said that I will have to satisfy my own integrity in this regard. I will have to be able to stand before God and say that I have tried all the other options. I don't believe that our solution can come from war.

On the effect of the toppling of Mangope in Bophuthatswana on the Right.

[Viljoen] The AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] made a terrible mistake. It's such a pity because what happened to them is only discrediting. If you consider the rest of the undertaking it would have been a perfect success. As a matter of fact Mr (Lucas) Mangope might still today have been in power had the mess of the AWB not caused the revolt or the uprising (by Bophuthatswana troops). We were not going to make use of the AWB, we were specifically requested not to bring the AWB because it was mentioned to me that the presence of the AWB might bring resistance from inside.

On his present relationship with the AWB.

[Viljoen] We have broken the relationship. I have often found in the past that whenever we make use of the AWB, for some or other reason we land up being discredited. I don't believe that we can have joint operations of great importance. And I am referring to, if necessary, military operations. It is very important in military operations that we should exercise discipline and restraint.

PAC Leader: 'No Chance' of Alliance With ANC
MB2204072094 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0120
GMT 22 Apr 94

[Report by C Govender]

[Text] Durban April 21 SAPA—An upbeat Clarence Makwetu took the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] election trail to Durban on Thursday [21 April] night, promising free housing and land to the deprived masses. Addressing Indian businessmen in Shallcross, south of Durban, Mr Makwetu urged business to support his organisation in the interests of democracy "unless you want to see a one-party state emerge".

He said there was no chance of an alliance between the African National Congress and the PAC as there were elements in the ANC that were not committed to democracy. "We urge an attitude of change. We hope to gain material support from you."

On perceptions that the PAC was a racist political organisation, Mr Makwetu said his party was not against whites but against white domination. Membership of the PAC "is and has always been open to all human beings. To say it is open to (black) Africans only is nonsense". "One's skin colour will not buy leadership in our organisation."

He reiterated that the PAC stood for the redistribution of land from privileged landowners to the rural masses. "The problem stems from deprivation of land and from concentration of land. Those who control the land control the people." He said a programme of restitution had to involve land ownership in order to aid suitable rural development, but he cautioned that no land reform programme was possible without government co-operation. PAC strategy was to utilise land to its optimum. Mr Makwetu warned that any other approach would unleash a "torrential force the likes of which none of us has seen".

Clarifying the PAC's stance on "Africans" Mr Makwetu said anyone who owed allegiance to the land and believed in the PAC's principles could be regarded as African. "We believe there is only one race—the human race."

The slogan "one settler, one bullet" was not PAC policy but merely a slogan of the armed struggle which the PAC had abandoned. It would take some time for the slogan to disappear. He suggested that "settler" was not a PAC word but one derived from whites themselves. "In Grahamstown there is the 1820 settlers monument. The road to Cape Town's airport is called Settlers Way and a small town outside Pretoria is called Settlers."

Mandela Speaks Out Against Lawlessness

MB2204070894 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2252
GMT 21 Apr 94

[Report by J Rees]

[Text] Phuthaditjhaba April 21 SAPA—Thousands of people braved icy weather to see African National Congress President Nelson Mandela at a waterlogged rally in QwaQwa on Thursday [21 April]. The ANC president's light aircraft from Bloemfontein to Phuthaditjhaba was diverted to Harrismith to avoid the cloudburst and hailstorm over QwaQwa. Youths at Phuthaditjhaba's T K Mopeli Stadium tore down a brass bust of the late Chief Charles N Mopeli—kicking and stoning it.

Mr Mandela made a powerful appeal for reconciliation and national unity, telling cheering supporters he would not tolerate lawlessness after the election. He guaranteed farmers and business people that they would not be the

victims of violence, looting or dispossession in his lifetime. "I condemn the lawlessness and anyone who breaks the law will be dealt with harshly."

At an earlier meeting in Thaba Nchu, the capital of what was once a fragment of Bophuthatswana, Mr Mandela said it was proper that the ANC should take the lead in getting people to accept the spirit of reconciliation and to work for it. He urged people to support the Police and Army in the former homeland of Bophuthatswana, saying they were needed to maintain law and order. "It is your duty to go to every policeman and soldier and say 'Let bygones be bygones. Let us work together to build our country'."

The ANC leader spent the day mobbed by photographers who clashed with ANC bodyguards, one of whom threatened to "blow the head off" an international news photographer.

Mr Mandela urged people to celebrate the ANC's election victory next week in a manner that would boost confidence in the organisation. He repeated his call for unity throughout the day, quoting himself from after his 1963 treason trial: "I have fought white domination just as I have fought black domination. After 27 years in jail, 20 grandchildren and three great-grandchildren, do you think I could come back and allow any political party to divide our people."

He ordered the crowd not to attack farmers or business people.

Thursday's weather made Mr Mandela six hours late for a fundraising lunch in Phuthaditjhaba, but about 200 business people waited patiently until after dark to hear that the government gravy train was over. Mr Mandela pledged to take a cut in salary and to start paying tax if he was elected president. "How can a president commit himself to the reconstruction of this country if he doesn't pay tax," he said.

Mandela Assures Stock Exchange Traders of Stability

MB2204110994 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1040
GMT 22 Apr 94

[Report by Sean Feely]

[Text] Johannesburg April 22 SAPA—African National Congress President Nelson Mandela interrupted trading activities on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange [JSE] on Friday [22 April], assuring members of the bourse there would be economic stability under a new government. "It is our concern to restore economic stability in the country," he said in a 15 minute speech. "We have called on our people to end mass action."

Mr Mandela said the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme [RDP] would seek to meet the needs of the people, who were forced in the past to resort to mass action to ensure their demands were attended to.

He said the RDP was a massive programme but would go a long way towards securing stability. Business had a vital role to play in this programme and building the country's future strength economically. The government would create a legislative environment based on free enterprise so commerce could thrive. "The JSE has an important role to play in the reconstruction and development of our country. We say the economy of the country must be built on sound market principles. If you look at our programme there's not a single sentence about nationalisation," he told the 300 brokers on the JSE floor.

Mr Mandela's speech was greeted by muted applause from the traders, despite his assurance the market was vital to raising new and substantial capital. However, on his way to the executive offices of the JSE to meet with JSE President Roy Andersen, the ANC leader was cheered by brokerage messengers and other staff.

ANC Removes Lebowa's Ramodike From Candidate List

MB2104152094 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] The name of the Lebowa chief minister, Mr. Nelson Ramodike, has been taken off the ANC's national candidate list. The ANC office in Johannesburg has confirmed this, but declined to give any reason. Earlier Mr. Ramodike said he was unaware of any such action.

Ramodike Comments

MB2204082994 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0512 GMT 22 Apr 94

[From the "Radio Today" program]

[Text] The African National Congress has removed the name of Nelson Ramodike, the chief minister of Lebowa, from its list of national candidates for next week's election. We approached him for his response to this development:

[Ramodike] The leader of COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], Mr. Sam Shilowa, approached me over the weekend and we had a private talk at the ranch hotel, and he requested me to withdraw from the national list of the African National Congress because the ANC regional executive council under the chairmanship of the premier candidate of the African National Congress, Mr. Ngoako Ramatlhodi, said their followers are not satisfied that my name is placed on the national list. He accused me of having allowed my colleague, Mr. Lawrence Mokhele Ledwaba, to register United People's Front [UPF] for election purposes. I explained that it is my profound policy, and it is on the other hand a democratic right for each and every person, each and every political party, to take part in the elections.

[Correspondent Angie Diedrichs] Mr. Ramodike, but at this stage, you are apparently going to be taken off the list. What are your plans now?

[Ramodike] Well, my party, the United People's Front, has already demanded that I should come back and we forge ahead together for campaigns in the Northern Transvaal region.

[Diedrichs] Mr. Ramodike, I take it then that you intend returning to the UPF?

[Ramodike] Well, that is a demand and the request by our political organization, that if the ANC followers in the Northern Transvaal are not satisfied with me for problems that are here in the Northern Transvaal, especially administrative problems, then they are welcoming me back to United People's Front.

[Diedrichs] Mr. Ramodike, looking at administrative problems, the TEC also announced today that it was going to appoint two executive directors to govern Lebowa before and during the elections. What are your reactions to that?

[Ramodike] I rejoice; the people of Lebowa rejoice. The cabinet of Lebowa welcome the decision taken by the TEC upon our request, and we indeed feel very much gratified that Mr. Fourie should pull out of Lebowa and in his place, or in the place of task teams, the executive directors be appointed.

TEC To Appoint Executive Directors

MB2104113394 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1038 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Report by P. Bulger]

[Text] Pretoria April 21 SAPA—The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) will appoint two executive directors in the self-governing territory of Lebowa, it decided on Thursday [21 April]. African National Congress Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa said the executive directors would oversee the finances, services and rationalisation of the Lebowa administration.

The executive council said tension and lawlessness were mounting in Lebowa and there had been several deaths.

Mr Ramaphosa said the directors would interact with the government of Lebowa Chief Minister Mr Nelson Ramodike. They would take over financial control from the Department of Regional and Land affairs, he said. The department has been running Lebowa's finances since irregularities were uncovered in October last year.

Mr Ramaphosa said the administrations of the self-governing territories would lapse on April 27. The Executive Council's action would assist the re-integration of Lebowa and its administration with the Northern Transvaal region.

He rejected criticism that Mr Ramodike was receiving better treatment than homeland leaders opposed to the ANC.

The Executive Council resolution was backed by the government.

De Klerk Interviewed on Career, Election Issues

*MB2204081094 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 0614 GMT 22 Apr 94*

[Interview with State President F.W. de Klerk by Shiphiwo Mogoda; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Our series of interviews with top political party leaders continues today with the discussion with the state president and leader of the National Party [NP], F.W. de Klerk. Shiphiwo Mogoda asked Mr. De Klerk for his thoughts on the televised debate which was held last week?

[Begin recording] [De Klerk] I feel that overall the debate was good for South Africa. It had two sides; the one side was the party political side, and I feel that the National Party's cause has firstly not been harmed by the debate, I think it has been advanced by the debate. But it had another side, which was also important, and that is that the two leaders of the two biggest parties in South Africa were seen by all South Africans and the whole world as being able to debate in a civilized manner, and when it came to the interests of the country, that they will be capable of rising above their differences and working together in a government of national unity in the best interests of all the people.

[Mogoda] Mr. President, what has caused you to cry, or let me put it this way, to laugh, if necessary, in all these things that have happened during your rule?

[De Klerk] What makes me happy, what makes me buoyant, is my confidence in the future, is the achievement of what I have set out to achieve—the achievement of free and fair elections for all South Africans, the achievement of a new South Africa being born, which I worked for from the very moment when I was elected as leader of the National Party. I am thankful that I was able—and I am not saying this in a holier than thou attitude—to really keep all the promises that I made. Originally people said talk is cheap, but money buys the whisky: Is he really going to do it? Is the National Party really going to do all these things that it has set out to do? And we've done it!

What makes me cry is the violence. It is the one thing which I would have liked to see different. I sincerely believed that when we reached agreements, when a new constitution was agreed upon, when we focused all South Africans on participation in the election, that the political violence would abate and would come to an end. Maybe the lack of inclusivity, with Inkatha standing out until so recently, was one of the main causes why it didn't stop or abate. But now they are in and I am

praying everyday that that will now make a big contribution to really bringing the tension and the violence and the confrontation to an end.

[Mogoda] President, what do you think is the most exciting thing about you since you entered politics? What I mean is that, what do you like most about yourself since you entered politics?

[De Klerk] I am not a vain man. That is the most difficult question I've had in this whole election campaign to answer. Let me rather say, what do I like most about that which I represent in politics? I like the commitment of my party, the honesty of my party, the courage which my party had to also admit mistakes and to change that which was wrong. I am proud of the way in which my party has changed and has become a party for all the people of South Africa, representing all the population groups, the most nonracial party participating in this election.

[Mogoda] You refer to your new National Party as somewhat an overhauled party. It's not an old one. Now, are you maybe trying to convince people that a leopard can change its spots?

[De Klerk] Yes. I think it is a very shallow saying that a leopard can't change its spots, because we are not dealing with the skin. We are dealing with the heart, and too much emphasis is being put on skin and color in South Africa. What is in your heart is what counts; it is warmth, it is caring for the needs of the people, it is that you have succeeded to remove racism from your pattern of thinking. Yes, we have a new heart in the National Party.

[Mogoda] Well, another question. Some of your opponents, I would say, have accused you of having intervened to stop your son from marrying a colored girl in Cape Town sometime. I have never heard you commenting on this. Now is your time.

[De Klerk] I have at all times with regard to that taken the viewpoint that my son is an adult. He must make a choice, and I have no color prejudice in my mind. I am not a racist. Parents are concerned about whether the choice of a son or a daughter is the right one. In this case my son's decision not to marry was his own.

[Mogoda] Well, Mr. President, there have also been reports that a number of white people are stockpiling for fear of the aftermath of elections. What does this indicate to you?

[De Klerk] I think many of them have fallen prey to media reports and speculations which gave rise to a little bit of panic. I don't share the analysis that we will have vast disruptions after the election. I think we will have some festivity. Some parties might be very quiet and licking their wounds, but generally speaking I think apart from the festivities we will return very soon to normal. The public is tired of politics. They want a little bit of relaxation again on their television screens. They don't want to be inundated with political propaganda all the

time, and I think the whole country is really looking forward to get the election behind us now so that we can resume our ordinary normal lives and really, I see no cause for grave concern. [end recording]

Federal Party Releases Political Manifesto

MB2204085694 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2311
GMT 21 Apr 94

[Report by S Denny]

[Text] Johannesburg April 21 SAPA—The Federal Party [FP] stands for maximum devolution of power, direct democracy and entrenched fundamental freedoms. Releasing its election manifesto in Johannesburg on Thursday [21 April], the FP said devolution forced local governments to compete for investment and workers. "Devolution of power will reduce political violence, which is caused by centralisation of the past and centralisation entrenched in the interim constitution," the party's leader Frances Kendall said. The FP believed central government should have power only over matters of national interest, including national defence, foreign affairs, foreign trade, national trade and the protection of entrenched fundamental rights.

Resolving the land issue was South Africa's toughest challenge, Ms Kendall said, adding it was important not to abuse property rights further. "A land court should address specific claims and compensation. All government-owned land and housing should be transferred to private ownership with freehold title. Legislation which protects inefficient farmers and prevents sub-division of land should be repealed," she said.

Calling for voucher systems for the poor and for education, the FP manifesto said these would be used to subsidise rent or to buy homes or for education.

A bill of rights should be entrenched without a "limitation" clause and should protect people from an abusive government. The current constitution allowed government to suspend the bill of rights "when it is needed most—under a state of emergency".

South Africa's new constitutional court was elitist and should be abolished, the party said. "Ordinary courts should interpret and apply the constitution and every person should have the right to trial by jury."

DP Predicts 80 Percent Turnout in W. Cape

MB2204120094 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1110
GMT 22 Apr 94

[Report by Dirk van Zyl]

[Text] Cape Town April 22 SAPA—The Democratic Party [DP] has predicted a voter turn-out of 80 per cent in the Western Cape in next week's elections and that, as of Friday, 30 per cent of voters are still undecided on party preference. The party's Western Cape premiership candidate Mr Hennie Bester released the projections,

based on his and his team's campaigning in the province over the past months, at a press briefing on Friday morning.

They had found that up to 40 per cent of voters could be affected by intimidation, either on party choice or on whether to vote, and that parties had not had free access to up to 30 per cent of the electorate. Seventy per cent of voters, they found, were in a sufficient state of election readiness in terms of documentation and knowledge of the electoral process. Forty per cent of the province's voters had a general understanding of parliamentary democracy and the political system generally, and the same percentage was sufficiently informed about manifestos, candidates and culture of political parties. The large number not sufficiently informed about the latter aspect could lead to a significant percentage of misplaced votes, Mr Bester said. Insufficient knowledge about voting procedures and systems could result in 15 per cent of ballots being spoilt.

Leaders Consider Indemnity for Security Forces

MB2204083294 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0809
GMT 22 Apr 94

[Report by N Patterson]

[Text] Pretoria April 22 SAPA—It was important members of the security forces should be able to carry out their duties without fear of being prosecuted for political crimes after the elections, African National Congress President Nelson Mandela said on Friday [22 April]. Mr Mandela was speaking after a meeting with President F W de Klerk at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, to discuss indemnity for those who committed political crimes and the franchise for prisoners. The ANC wanted the security services to be committed to their duties without fear of facing prosecutions for political crimes after the elections, he added.

Mr Mandela said he and Mr de Klerk also exchanged views on prisoners being allowed to vote. Mr de Klerk said on Thursday he would probably decide on the issue on Friday. Mr Mandela said: "We are more or less looking at the problem from the same angle."

TEC Agrees to Amendments to Accommodate IFP

MB2104151894 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1100 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] The TEC [Transitional Executive Council] has agreed to amendments to the Electoral Act which allow the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] to register as a political party for the elections, and which makes it possible for citizens of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states to use valid travel documents as identity for voting. Another amendment approved permits for staff of any hospital or old age home to vote by special vote if they were unable to get to a polling station when they are open. The amendments will be made law through proclamation by the state president.

IEC Dispensing IDs to Reef Hostels, Tests Monitors

MB2104215294 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2049 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Johannesburg April 21 SAPA—The Independent Electoral Commission [IEC] on Thursday [21 April] said it would send 20 mobile stations to dispense temporary voter cards at hostels across The Reef on Friday. IEC Chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler told a press briefing in Johannesburg the commission would set up voting stations at hostels on April 27 and 28.

IEC Monitoring Director Peter Harris said an additional 1.2 million temporary voter cards had been sent to the Transkei for voters in outlying areas. About 1.3 million cards had been issued so far, he said.

Mr Harris said the IEC had held "a successful election dummy run" to see if it was ready for the real event. About 11,000 monitors had been deployed at voting stations countrywide between 4AM and 9AM. The aim had been to see if the commission could get its monitors in the field, he said.

The trial had been successful, although there were some transport and telecommunication problems in a few regions. The reaction time in Natal had been slow, but would improve. Some retraining of monitors was necessary, he added.

The IEC has received an additional R1.4 million [rand] from the Norwegian Government for voter education programmes in Natal, in conjunction with the United States-based South Africa Free Election Fund, which has deployed 25,000 [figure as received] monitors in the field, at Home Affairs offices and at magistrate's courts.

Mr Justice Kriegler said it was doubtful if voter education in Natal would reach the same level as elsewhere in the country.

Electoral Commission Denies Numbering Ballots

MB2004183494 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1400 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] The Independent Electoral Commission [IEC] has denied that the ballot papers for the elections next week will be numbered. The IEC said in a statement that the counterfoil of the ballot paper had a serial number, but that there was no mark on the ballot paper itself. It said that no inscription would be made on the counterfoil by an electoral officer. The voter would have his knuckles sprayed with invisible ink, and his document marked with invisible ink to control voting.

IEC To Begin Voter Education Program in Natal

MB2104083194 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2133 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Report by M. Merton]

[Text] Johannesburg April 20 SAPA—The Independent Electoral Commission [IEC] would start "a major voter education blitz" in Natal on Thursday [21 April] to reassure voters about the voting procedure after agreement on the addition of the Inkatha Freedom Party's sticker on ballot papers. IEC Voter Education Director Albert Mokoena said that with the exception of no-go areas, the commission's voter education programme had exposed most people to the voting procedure.

"It does not matter how many parties appear on the voting paper," he said.

IEC electoral administration training division head Kumi Naidoo said electoral officers would affix the sticker to ballot papers at a "supplies desk" before the papers were handed to voters at national and regional "issuing desks".

The IEC would require an additional staff member at each voting station to cope with putting the stickers on ballot papers, but was confident this could be achieved within the short time before elections next week.

Mr Naidoo said positive feedback had been received from Natal, where about 600 electoral officers each with a staff of 25 were now needed. People who had previously been hesitant to come forward, were volunteering, he said.

The IEC expected to set up more than 9,000 voting stations countrywide, Mr Naidoo added.

IEC Gives Details on Vote Counting Procedures

MB2004110094 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0930 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Statement issued by the IEC on the SAPA PR Wire Service on 20 April]

[Text] The IEC [Independent Electoral Commission] has established a number of counting centres around the country, each of which so positioned and allocated to count approximately 60,000 papers. Naturally, counting centres serving smaller rural areas will serve more voting stations than those in larger, urban areas.

Security—both within and around the counting centres, will be of prime importance, and access to counting centres will be restricted—against positive identification—to certain IEC personnel, IEC monitors, party voting agents, local and international observers and one candidate from each registered political party.

On the morning of April 29 (the day after close of voting)—all "packages"—ballot boxes, parcels and other items sealed at voting stations—will be delivered to their allocated counting centres, accompanied in transit by at least two IEC officials, or one IEC official and an official or international observer. The additional presence of an IEC monitor where possible is being encouraged.

The counting officer at the counting centre will, in the presence of another IEC official and any other interested parties who have access to the station, inspect the seals on the packages.

The counting officer will then instruct the two designated IEC officials to separate the packages into those for provincial votes, and those for national. These will then be taken to separate national or provincial "bins" or holding areas for each voting station, and further separated into the three days of voting—April 26, 27 and 28.

This procedure will be followed until all of the packages from all of the voting stations allocated to a counting centre have been received.

Eighteen reconciliation tables—nine for provincial votes, and nine for national votes—will be positioned in each counting centre, each group of three tables processing votes for each of the three voting days in each category. Each of these tables will have an IEC official assigned to it, and a further two IEC official will supervise the overall reconciliation process.

Packages will then be allocated from the bins to available reconciliation tables, three voting stations at a time (one for each set of three reconciliation tables). The IEC official at each table will break the seals on the ballot boxes, and place the ballot papers on the table before showing any interested parties that the box is empty. He or she will then count and record the number of ballot papers on the table, in small batches of twenty, clipped together in batches of 100 papers.

In any one of the ballot boxes from a particular voting station will also be the statement prepared by the voting station presiding officer, detailing the number of votes cast on a particular voting day at that station.

The IEC station reconciliation supervisor will be called upon to check the presiding officer's statement against that of the IEC counting station officer. If the figures do not agree (after checking addition calculations on both forms) a recount will be ordered and undertaken until the total after two identical and consecutive counts agree with each other.

If this total differs from the presiding officer's statement by less than 0.5 per cent or one vote—whichever is the greater—the reconciliation will be regarded as being in order.

If the margin is greater than this, the supervisor will comply with the instructions of the IEC's chief director, administration.

Any and all irregularities—no matter how great or small—will however be reported to the IEC chief director, administration, on completion of the counting process.

On completion of the reconciliation, ballot papers will be returned to ballot boxes, sealed by the counting supervisor, have the reconciliation statement stuck to the boxes and taken to a further holding area to await counting.

The counting proper—by political party—begins at this stage. Boxes containing no more than 3,000 papers are delivered to a counting table, where the allocated IEC official again checks the seals before breaking these and removing the contents and proving that the box is empty.

All packets containing ballot papers without the relevant voting station stamp, those cancelled by the voting station presiding officer as being marked by mistake or inadvertently spoiled at the voting station, as well as used and partially-used ballot books returned by the voting station will then be placed in one of the ballot boxes, together with the counting station reconciliation form(s), and sealed under supervision.

The remaining ballot papers left on the counting table are then held up—one at a time—and shown to the party voting agents, monitors and observers present. If the mark on the paper is clearly identifiable as being in support of a certain party, the official will call out the name of that party, and hand the paper to one of the five IEC official controlling the party allocation tables, where piles of votes for each party are assembled.

If the mark is not clearly identifiable as being in support of a particular party, it will be put aside and treated as a disputed ballot paper after processing the other papers in that batch.

Disputed papers will then again be held up one at a time to party voting agents, monitors and observers, and the supervisor will announce his or her decision on whether to accept or reject each one. In the case of acceptance, the supervisor will give his or her decision on the party selected.

If this decision is accepted, the supervisor will hand the paper to one of the five party allocation table officials, who will add it to the pile for that particular party. If the supervisor's decision is rejected by party voting agents, the paper will be marked as "disputed and counted/rejected" on its reverse and kept separately.

Each of the officials at the party allocation tables will then count and record the ballots in each of the party piles to which they have been allocated—again in small clips of twenty papers collated into batches of 100 papers.

"Disputed and counted" and "disputed and rejected" papers will also be counted, clipped and batched as above, and a separate record kept of these tallies.

Officials at each party allocation tables will then swap positions under the direction of the supervisor, and the counting and recording at each table will be repeated. Finally, the official at the counting table who did not

participate in the previous party allocation counts will again count and record the results.

This process will be repeated until the results of two consecutive counts are identical in every respect.

Full results of the count—including rejected ballots—are recorded on a batch tally form, and the supervisor will read out the result and ask any party voting agents present to sign this form.

Should there be a dispute, and provided the party voting agent has solid ground for the dispute, a re-count may be ordered.

Once the form is signed by the party voting agents, it will be regarded as being accepted, and no further appeal will be entertained by the IEC. Copies of the signed batch tally forms will be available to all party voting agents.

The counting table officials will then assemble the different categories of ballots into packets, each of which will be sealed and returned to empty ballot boxes, together with the batch tally forms. The ballot boxes are once again sealed and removed to a holding area.

The counting officer will convey results of the batch tally forms to the IEC media centre in Johannesburg.

All material pertaining to the count—ballot papers, stubs, unused papers, reports and forms—will then be assembled in a holding area at the counting centre. The counting officer will request that all people other than the required IEC officers leave the centre, and will secure the centre to his or her satisfaction until arrangements are made for delivery of the material to the IEC's chief director, administration.

AWB Said Moving Forces Into Orange Free State

MB2104163694 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1408 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Pretoria April 21 SAPA—The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Resistance Movement—AWB] said on Thursday [21 April] it had initiated a strategy to secure the Transvaal and Orange Free State as a base against a future communist government. According to a statement

by the AWB's General Staff "thousands of members of the AWB are already busy moving into the area".

This was to ensure sufficient manpower was mustered to ward off any persecution or action against right-wingers by a future communist government.

The generals warned that the "so-called peace" which had been found between the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] and the African National Congress would not last. "The fact that the IFP has now been drawn into the elections will definitely be an opportunity for conflict and confrontation between the ANC and the whole Zulu nation," the statement said.

The Zulu population, as the biggest single group in the country, would never accept the outcome of the elections when the ANC obtained the majority of votes. "The war between the IFP and the ANC will then intensify. South Africa will be plunged into a bloodbath."

The AWB declared that under no circumstances would it be part of the elections. It still regarded the April 26-28 poll as illegal and it therefore had no confidence in the future government. "The General Staff and the Executive Council have therefore decided to protect members of the organisation and the Boervolk [Boer nation] against the chaos, uprising and revolution which will follow," said the statement.

It defined the territory which it had declared as its "base, secure territory" as stretching from "Northern Transvaal to the Cape border." Thousands of AWB members were already busy moving into the area to ensure that sufficient manpower was mustered against a communist threat.

Right-wing sources confirmed they were aware of AWB mobilisation plans, with most activity centred on the Western Transvaal.

Neither AWB leader Eugene Terre'blanche nor Gen Nico Prinsloo, normally the only people authorised to speak to the press from their Ventersdorp headquarters, were available for comment on Thursday afternoon.

Their Johannesburg-based spokesman, Fred Rundle, was not available.

Angola

Prime Minister Notes Country on 'Threshold of Peace'

MB2104220094 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Marcolino Moco arrived in Benguela this morning. He was welcomed at the airport by Governor Paulo Jorge, members of the provincial government, and traditional and religious leaders. Moco spoke to newsmen at the airport about the aim of his visit, noting that peace could be achieved soon. [passage omitted]

[Begin Moco recording] The aim of our visit is of utmost importance. I could even say that we are going to make Benguela the capital of central and southern Angola. I intend to meet the governors of Benguela, Cuanza Sul, Huambo, Huila, and Bie Provinces to discuss the consequences of the war waged against the Angolan people throughout the country. The war has had a significant impact on this part of the country.

At a meeting I held with his excellency the president of the Republic we assessed a number of issues that were raised at the recent meetings he held with traditional authorities. We realize that there are serious problems affecting war-displaced persons, and the transport sector. Although most districts are in government hands, bandit action prevents free movement to the various regions, causing terrible suffering for the people. So, that is one of the issues we will discuss. We have brought some suggestions. [passage omitted]

My visit will serve to convey an important message for the residents of Benguela, and obviously for all Angolan people. That is, it is possible that we are on the threshold of peace. But we, Angolans, have already learned a lot. We ought to prepare the ground so that peace will not turn its back on the Angolan people again, as is the case right now. Every structure, ministries, and provincial organs... [pauses] Although it has been reported that ministerial portfolios and provinces will be given to UNITA representatives, that should not mean a return to confusion, insubordination, disregard for human rights as we saw before the elections. But we should not be too theoretical. We need to create the necessary conditions. During my visit we will discuss this aspect at length with officials and even with the people. So, we ought to create mechanisms so that peace will never turn its back on the Angolan people who have suffered dearly from actions by those who are not interested in true peace. Those are the aims of my visit to Benguela. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Beye Meets With Government, UNITA Negotiators

MB2104203894 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Report by correspondent Alves Antonio in Lusaka]

[Text] Alioune Blondin Beye, UN special representative in Angola, today met with the negotiating teams. At the Mulungushi International Conference Center this morning, Beye met the government delegation in the morning and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] team in the afternoon. No details have been disclosed, though it is believed that the mediator wanted to hold separate meetings on outstanding issues—namely, the specific principles and ways of completing the presidential elections and national reconciliation. No basic document has been issued regarding the specific principles on the completion of the presidential elections. A source close to the negotiations said that it in view of that, it is not possible to make further comments. The mediator is still making efforts to bring the government and UNITA negotiators together to deal with the outstanding issues. Beye is still optimistic, saying he believes the negotiations will end soon. Yesterday Beye said Lusaka is about to write its name in the history of the Angolan people. Let us wait and see.

Opposition Leader Calls Attack Assassination Attempt

MB2204123694 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] The Angolan opposition PDP-ANA [Democratic Party for the Progress-Angolan National Alliance] party says its leader, Mr. Mfulumpinga Landu Victor, has escaped an assassination attempt by government security forces in Luanda. PDP-ANA says about 20 policemen in a Land Rover had fired on a vehicle transporting Mr. Victor in the Angolan capital. The party said at least 40 bullets had struck the car shattering all the windows. It said that international communities should be aware that the government of Angola was slowly destroying all opposition in the country. Mr. Victor had earlier called on the government to allow an international commission of inquiry to investigate the mass involvement of police in the massacre of 4,000 members of the Bakongo tribe in Luanda's [word indistinct] last year.

Police Investigation Begins

MB2104142294 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] The police today responded to yesterday's incident that partially destroyed the vehicle of Mfulumpinga Victor, chairman of the Democratic Party for Progress-Angolan National Alliance. Maianga Police Station Commander Jose Alberto says that by this afternoon Mfulumpinga Victor had not presented a formal complaint, that is why the investigations are stalled.

[Begin Alberto recording] Until now we have not received any complaint from Mr. Mfulumpinga Landu Victor. We are waiting for him to arrive and present a complaint.

[Unidentified correspondent] But the police yesterday visited the place where the incident occurred.

[Alberto] It was about 2200 that we learned that a Land Rover vehicle carrying people dressed in plain clothes stopped in the October Revolution Street and shot at Mr. Mfulumpinga's vehicle after he had parked it in front of his house.

[Correspondent] What measures are the police taking?

[Alberto] We have already investigated the case by questioning some people who were at the venue of the attack. They saw the people who were in the attackers' vehicle, but we are still waiting for Mr. Mfulumpinga's complaint. [end recording]

Botswana

Lesotho Minister Discusses Recent Military Uprising

MB2104201094 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 1610 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] A Lesotho cabinet minister, who is in Gaborone on a temporary sanctuary, says the present conflict in his country came after a government announced a commission of inquiry into the January faction fighting within the Lesotho Army.

In an interview with BOPA [Botswana Press Agency] today, Mr. Monyane Moleleki, who is Lesotho's minister of natural resources, said the Lesotho Government intended to have experts from Botswana, South Africa, and Zimbabwe in that commission. He said the terms of the inquiry had said that the Lesotho Government was not going to be represented in the commission. He said some opposition members had alleged that some cabinet ministers were involved in the disturbances and demanded that they resign. He said he does not understand why the present disturbances took place just before the commission started its work. Mr. Moleleki said the commission should have been allowed to take place and establish who was involved in the January fighting.

Mr. Moleleki said ministers could resign for moral and political considerations, and not (?killed) by force by the army if ever they had a hand in the disturbances.

He described the political situation in Lesotho as stable but volatile due to the murder of Lesotho's deputy prime minister, Mr. Selometsi Baholo, and the abduction of four cabinet ministers, including himself, last Thursday.

Mr. Moleleki said he intends going back to Lesotho very soon. He said after his abduction he and the other ministers were kept at the army barracks for four days, but later handed over to the police. He said once in custody, they were accused of the disturbances that took place in January when there was factional fighting within the Lesotho Defense Force. Mr. Moleleki said the soldiers accused them, saying one of them had gone abroad

to recruit mercenaries to kill some members of the Lesotho Army. He said Mr. Baholo was not in the country during the January disturbances as he had gone to Belgium for medical reasons.

Meanwhile, the minister for foreign affairs, Dr. Gaositwe Chiepe, has confirmed that she met Mr. Moleleki, but not the three other ministers who are said to be in Botswana. Dr. Chiepe said it is her hope that the ministers would go back to Lesotho because they are not refugees. She said Botswana is still consulting the Zimbabwean Government on the action to be taken.

Mozambique

Renamo President on Elections, Future Government

LD2104214294 Lisbon RTP Internacional Television in Portuguese 1800 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Interview with Renamo President Afonso Dhlakama by unidentified announcer in Lisbon—live]

[Text] [Announcer] The Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] president is here with me. Good evening, Afonso Dhlakama. Will you give us an assurance, here at Telejornal, that what happened in Angola will not be reenacted in Mozambique?

[Dhlakama] No, it will not be reenacted, because we believe that the important thing in Mozambique is to attain peace, not to attain power.

[Announcer] Even if the elections are unfavorable to Renamo and it finds itself prevented from attaining power?

[Dhlakama] Certainly. My fight has been for democracy in my country, not for power. And I am well acquainted with the implications of democracy.

[Announcer] Be that as it may, you have said on several occasions that Renamo has a proposal for the setting up of a national unity government, and that you would like to be Joaquim Chissano's vice president in the event of Frelimo winning the elections, which means that Renamo has designs on power.

[Dhlakama] Well. I have a clear idea to put to the Mozambican people, recognizing that in Africa the course of democracy has been a hard one. I would like there to be neither victors nor vanquished. Hence, this idea of mine. As I have said before, should it win the elections, Renamo does not wish to govern alone, it wishes to govern jointly with the other parties. And the other parties, should they win, ought to do likewise.

[Announcer] In other words, you have just confirmed what I said earlier on, that one of your goals is to hold office in the future Mozambican Government, regardless of the election results.

[Dhlakama] Well, that is in order to avoid problems; in order to avoid problems.

[Announcer] The kind of problems that arose in Angola?

[Dhlakama] Not just in Angola, all over Africa, because in Africa so far we have been learning about democracy itself. I am of the view that democracy must be allowed to develop its own history in Africa. In Mozambique, for example, we have the history of our independence. That history of our independence went wrong, hence the civil war. So, in order to avoid...[pauses] So that democracy may develop its own history in Mozambique, it is necessary that, regardless of who wins the October elections, the victors should invite those also represented in parliament to govern together.

[Announcer] Yes. What is President Joaquim Chissano's reaction to the ideas you advocate, to that kind of proposal?

[Dhlakama] Well, so far we have not yet entered into negotiations officially. However, I have already been able to chat to him about it and I have not yet had a positive response. In the newspapers I have read that several government ministers seem not to agree to the idea. Nevertheless, I am optimistic, because now I am already living in Maputo, and all the intellectuals—professors, economists and engineers—support my position.

[Announcer] Afonso Dhlakama. You have come to Portugal, you arrived in Lisbon today, to ask the Portuguese

Government and businessmen for greater support. Portugal had already made available some \$300,000 for a support fund for Renamo, to be managed by the United Nations. Is this not enough? What else have you come to ask the Portuguese Government?

[Dhlakama] Well, the purpose of my visit is not to ask Portugal for cash. I have also come to confirm to the Portuguese people that the war is over in Mozambique, and also to reassure the Portuguese—because up to now the people have been growing disillusioned with the situation in Angola—to reassure the Portuguese that what has happened in Angola will not happen in Mozambique. Secondly, indeed, I have come to ask for general support for the Mozambican peace process.

[Announcer] But what kind of support? More troops, more money? What kind of support? Logistical support?

[Dhlakama] As you know, even Britain is already withdrawing from Mozambique, and I believe that there could indeed be an increase in the military presence of the Portuguese in Mozambique, even though they are already there training the Mozambican Army. Moreover, direct support for Renamo could be increased, because Renamo needs infrastructure. The Mozambican Government has planes, motorcars, money, and Renamo does not even have premises.

[Announcer] Afonso Dhlakama, thank you very much for coming to Telejornal.

[Dhlakama] Thank you.

Cote d'Ivoire**Cabinet Warns Against Disturbing 'Social Peace'***AB2104191194 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French 0700 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Report on cabinet meeting by Communication Minister Daniele Boni-Claverie in Abidjan on 20 April]

[Text] At today's cabinet meeting the government examined the country's current situation, and expressed satisfaction with the international community's reactions to the fact that the crisis has been brought under control and properly managed. We are also pleased with the increasing interest that financiers are steadily showing toward us concerning the way Cote d'Ivoire is implementing its structural adjustment program. A number of achievements already allow us to assert that the expected economic recovery is not a vain hope, that it will become a reality in the months ahead. The government is satisfied with the regular payment of salaries, the increase in the producer prices for cash crops, the payment of students scholarships, and the payment of retirement pensions. Other achievements include the gradual repayment of national debts, support to financiers—as I have already pointed out—in funding development projects, and the implementation of social welfare programs. These are some of the many achievements which, in so short a period, have restored hope to our compatriots and the entire nation.

The government especially wants to praise the determination and commitment of our citizens, and thanks them for their support, as the efforts demanded from each citizen can only be continued with the understanding of all, thanks to the continuing social peace. That is why the government is astonished by the ill-timed statements, calls for violence, disorder, and disturbances orchestrated by a certain portion of the media. The only thing that should prevail is national solidarity. The government wants to emphatically reassure the Ivorian people that no one will be threatened—neither the leader of the Ivorian Popular Front nor its activists.

However, since Cote d'Ivoire is a country where the rule of law prevails, nobody, whatever his political leaning or profession, can be above the law. When citizens violate the laws of the country, they have to face the consequences of their acts without trying to sow confusion among public opinion. The prosecution of Abou Drahamane Sangare, publishing manager of the newspaper LA VOIE, and Souleymane Senn, a journalist for that same paper—even if they are influential members of a political party—is only in line with the enforcement of the law. Cote d'Ivoire has always defended freedom of speech, as well as individual and collective freedoms, on the condition that they are exercised legally.

It is in this regard that the government warns all those making appeals likely to disturb the social peace and law and order, and calls on all Ivorians to remain as calm and collected as they have always been—which has so far been a guarantee for the harmonious development of our country.

In this period of political and social instability in many African countries, Cote d'Ivoire will continue to demonstrate that disorder is not an unavoidable condition.

Liberia**LPC Demands Place in Transitional Government***AB2204082094 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 14 Apr 94*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] When the Liberian factions signed the peace accord in Cotonou last July they were not accounting for the emergence of a new anti-Charles Taylor movement, the Liberian Peace Council, LPC. It's been creating havoc with attacks in the River Cess region, south of the port of Buchanan. What its ultimate aim was has remained unclear. Now, it has come out into the open demanding a piece of the action and a place in the transitional government. From Monrovia, Nii Nartey Allison telexed this report:

The Liberian Peace Council today vowed to continue fighting until the Cotonou Accord was amended. The Peace Council's spokesman, Octavius Walker, said: We insist on being included in the Liberian National Transitional Government. He said: We made this clear when we met with the Transitional Council on 13 March. Mr. Walker said that Isaac Musa, Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front representative, had walked out of that meeting when the LPC was putting forward its demands. He added that after Mr. Musa had left, the LPC had made it clear that the NPFL could not represent areas under LPC control. Mr. Walker claims that the LPC is in control of six counties: River Cess, Grand Bassa, Sinoe, Maryland, Grand Gedeh, and Grand Kru. He said that the Peace Council is seeking to represent these countries on the Interim Council, but the NPFL information minister designate, Joe Mulbah, disputed the LPC's claim that it controlled six counties. Mulbah said that the NPFL had recently dislodged Peace Council fighters from River Cess and Compound No. 2, in Grand Bassa County.

Meanwhile, the fighting between the LPC and the NPFL continues to trigger a large number of refugees in the southeastern region. United Nations Shelter officials said that in the first six days of April alone 1,200 people had fled to the town of Buchanan.

Dissension Reported in NPFL on Minister Appointments*AB2104180494 Paris AFP in French 1212 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] Monrovia, 21 Apr (AFP)—Dissensions emerged today within the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL], the main armed faction, a day after the announcement of an agreement between the different factions on the formation of the future transitional government.

Last night, four of the six NPFL representatives within the transitional government were given "hearings" by the Transitional Legislative Assembly, before being officially commissioned by David Kpomakpor, the chairman of the Council of State (transitional collegiate presidency). The NPFL's mission "has been successfully accomplished," new Justice Minister Laveli Supuwood said, while his colleague, Labor Minister Tom Woewiyu, said that he was "ready to break down factional barriers and seek the interest and happiness of all Liberians." Interior Minister Samuel Dhokie, who is a top NPFL official, promised "to ensure national reconciliation and destroy the artificial division of the country."

A fourth NPFL representative, Wehyee Dekyee, minister of lands, mines, and energy, attended the ceremony, which was boycotted by the two other NPFL members in the government, Information Minister Joe Mulbah and Agriculture Minister Roland Massaquoi. In addition, none of the 13 NPFL representatives in the Transitional Legislative Assembly attended the hearings of their "brothers-in-arms," an AFP correspondent observed. For NPFL leader Charles Taylor, quoted this morning by the Front's radio monitored in Monrovia, the NPFL officials who have taken office in the government "without a consensus on the issue within the movement have not shown solidarity." It is a "defection," as far as Taylor is concerned. Since last November, the NPFL representatives in the government have refused to take office until an agreement is reached on all the ministerial posts, particularly on the four remaining key portfolios: defense, finance, foreign affairs, and justice.

Yesterday morning, the Council of State chairman announced that an agreement had been reached between the NPFL, the former interim government, and the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia on three ministries, and that the fourth post—that of foreign affairs—will be appointed "soon" by the Council of State. A few hours later NPFL Information Minister Joe Mulbah had already begun expressing some reservations, pointing out before journalists that the Front's leadership had not been officially informed about these nominations and that, consequently, his boss Charles Taylor had not endorsed them.

In a statement issued late this morning in Monrovia, the NPFL announced the holding of a congress this weekend in Gbarnga—160 km northeast of Monrovia. At the end of this congress, the NPFL "will be able to present serious and adequate proposals that will finally enable all the signatories to the Cotonou Accord to participate fully in the government," the communique said.

NPFL Leader Clarifies Position on Ministerial Posts

*AB2104225894 Gbarnga Radio ELRL in English
1400 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] The head of the main faction in the Liberian National Transitional Government [LNTG], the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] leader, Charles

Gankay Taylor, has clarified that the State Council has no hurry of dismissing power. Mr. Taylor was addressing a news conference in Gbarnga yesterday in the wake of the nomination by the chairman of the State Council of certain individuals [word indistinct] as coordinators of the disputed ministries, particularly the Foreign Ministry. Mr. Taylor said he had introduced a coalition government of compromise involving the factions. Mr. Taylor said any faction's attempt to seat the LNTG, will not be welcomed as anything done half way is not done at all. He said it would be a mistake on the part of the NPFL to form a part of any such seating of the LNTG.

The NPFL leader said that officials of the IGNU [Interim Government of National Unity] faction in the transitional government have all taken their seats in the government, including public operations and deputy ministerial positions. Mr. Taylor said if the NPFL allows the IGNU faction to keep a deputy minister acting in a foreign minister capacity, then individuals will go on holding onto the Foreign Ministry for the rest of the transitional period.

He stressed that the NPFL is not prepared to tolerate any such conditions. The NPFL leader said it would appear that a consultation or allocation of cabinet posts has developed into a personality clash where some people do not distrust cited individuals. Mr. Taylor said he cannot understand why anyone would have reservations about a qualified Liberian like Counselor Momolu Sirleaf becoming foreign minister of Liberia. The NPFL leader said there was an instance where he would have preferred swapped-in portfolio between Counselor Sirleaf going to the Justice Ministry, while Counselor Laveli Supuwood could have taken over the Foreign Ministry. He said this could be somewhat only a concession. [Words indistinct] Counselor Sirleaf as an individual who has been considered as an obstacle to peace in Liberia.

The NPFL leader said he does not know where these reservations are coming from, but he said that Counselor Sirleaf is a qualified Liberian who can ably command the Foreign Ministry.

Comments on 'Wavering' Members

*AB2104214894 Gbarnga Radio ELRL in English
1400 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] The head of the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia], Mr. Charles Gankay Taylor, says there appears to be some wavering among some members of the NPFL representation on the Liberian National Transitional Government [LNTG]. He said he does not know what is responsible for some of these individuals' behaving like weaklings who have become bought over.

Mr. Taylor said some members of his delegation are behaving like defectors and said it will not be surprising to the NPFL, because it has had a similar experience in Monrovia involving Mr. Togba Mackintosh Gewieh. The NPFL leader disclosed that he has received information from Monrovia that some NPFL ministers are

wavering and planning to participate in confirmation hearing contrary to the earlier position of the NPFL that it will not partially sit on the transitional government.

Mr. Taylor said the NPFL will not tolerate any halfway seating of the transitional government. Mr. Taylor, however, said the NPFL has no intention to withdraw from the peace process and will do everything to ensure lasting peace in Liberia. Although Mr. Taylor (did not agree with) officials of the NPFL who are wavering, some nominated ministers from the NPFL to the LNTG have been confirmed by the Transitional Legislative Assembly.

Those who have assumed offices are Justice Minister Laveli Supuwood, Labor Minister Tom Woewiyu, Internal Affairs Minister Samuel Dhokie, and the minister of lands, mines and energy, Z. Dehkie.

Says NPFL Committed To Peace Process

*AB2204085094 Gbarnga Radio ELRL in English
1400 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] The NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] leader, Mr. Charles Gankay Taylor, says the NPFL will be coming up with some new proposals about Monday [24 April] to move the Liberian peace process forward.

During a news conference in Gbarnga, Mr. Taylor said he had had conversations with U.S. State Department officials in Washington, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, and officials of the United Nations on the peace process. He said during the discussions, he reaffirmed the NPFL's commitment to move the process forward. Mr. Taylor said on Monday, he will come up with some suggestions which, he hoped, will push the peace process forward.

Mali

Tripartite Meeting Slated for 10 May in Algiers

AB2104130094 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 0700 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] The Algerian capital, Algiers, will on 10 May host the next tripartite meeting between the Malian Government, the United Movement and Front of Azaouad [MFUA], and Algeria on the implementation of the national pact. This is the outcome of the deliberations of the tripartite meeting in Tamanrasset, Algeria, which was slated to end yesterday afternoon. Oumar Toure, our special correspondent in Tamanrasset, filed this report:

The Algiers meeting is slated for 10 May. This will enable the government delegation to return to Bamako to consult the government on the response to be given to the movement on a number of demands, since the national delegation has no mandate to make decisions on behalf of the Malian people.

The national delegation was charged with presenting a report on the implementation of the national pact since it was signed on 11 April 1992. That was the real purpose of the Tamanrasset meeting but against all expectations,

MFUA went to Tamanrasset with new demands based on the 31 March-9 April Gao meeting. These demands include, among others, the integration of 2,360 combatants into the Army and the representation of MFUA in some 15 embassies and in a number of government posts.

However, the real disagreement lies in the integration of 2,360 MFUA elements into the Army. The Algerian mediator made intense behind-the-scenes efforts to settle the disagreement but unfortunately, the Malian national delegation could not act on its own and the MFUA representatives were under pressure from their headquarters. There was therefore no score after the extra play time. Already, all are poised for penalty kicks in Algiers.

Follow-Up Committee To Be Formed

*LD2104120194 Algiers Radio Algiers Network in Arabic
1000 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] The Malian Government and the Unified Movements and Fronts of Azaouad stressed their commitment to implementing the national pact signed in Bamako in April 1992.

A press statement issued in Tamanrasset yesterday after the meeting of the follow up committee overseeing implementation of the pact, said that on the basis of a proposal from the mediating country, Algeria, the two sides accepted the idea of setting up two follow up committees which would be in charge of looking into matters in connection with the military, security, political, and development aspects of their dispute.

Niger

Three Detained Opposition Leaders Released

AB2104135094 Paris AFP in French 1301 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Niamey, 21 Apr (AFP)—The leaders of three Niger parliamentary opposition parties—Mamadou Tandja, Andre Salifou, and Issoufou Assoumane—were "released on bail" today on the orders of the district attorney, police sources disclosed here. Mamadou Tandja of the National Movement of the Development Society—the former single ruling party—Andre Salifou of the Union of Progressive Patriots and Democrats, and Issoufou Assoumane of the Democratic Union of Progressive Forces were arrested on 17 April after violent demonstrations in Niamey on 16 April which left one person dead and 24 others wounded.

Sierra Leone

Delegation Visits Libya; Diplomatic Ties Resumed

*AB2104130594 Freetown SLBS Radio in English
0700 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] A high-level Sierra Leonean delegation paid a visit to the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

during the period April 12 to 17 with a written message to the leader of the Great al-Fatih Revolution, Colonel Mu'amar al-Qadhdhafi, from his brother Captain Valentine Strasser, chairman of the National Provisional Council and head of state of the Republic of Sierra Leone.

During the visit, important negotiations took place that covered all fields of cooperation. Declaring the resumption of diplomatic relations between their countries, the two sides [words indistinct] mutual understanding for mutual cooperation in the various areas—political, cultural, and economic fields—to achieve the goals of the OAU within the framework of Arab-African cooperation and south-south cooperation.

Togo

Seven Candidates To Contest Legislative By-Elections

AB2104213694 Paris AFP in French 1243 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Lome, 21 Apr (AFP)—Seven people, including three from the opposition, have announced their candidacy for legislative by-elections, which will be held on 15 and 29 May in three Togolese constituencies, it was learned today from the Interior Ministry. The results of

the February poll were invalidated in these three constituencies by the Supreme Court as a result of "disturbances" observed during the second round, and the "ineligibility" of the deputies' alternates. These three polls saw the victory of opposition candidates—two from the Action Committee for Renewal [CAR] and one from the Togolese Union for Democracy [UTD]. At the end of the elections, the opposition had obtained an absolute majority—43 out of 81 seats—at the National Assembly.

The Rally of the Togolese People [RPT]—the former single ruling party—is presenting a candidate in each of the three constituencies, while the Alliance of Democrats for the Republic, which did not obtain any seat in February, is presenting one candidate in the first constituency of Oti. The opposition, after contesting the Supreme Court's decision, finally agreed to present candidates "as a safeguard." The UTD and the CAR presented single candidates in the three constituencies—one for the UTD and two for the CAR.

Since the Supreme Court's decision to invalidate the election of the opposition deputies, there has been an impasse in negotiations to select the future prime minister, who, according to the Togolese Constitution, must come from the parliamentary majority. However, President Eyadema has again met—twice early this week—with CAR Chairman Yao Agboyibor, as part of consultations undertaken since 15 March.

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